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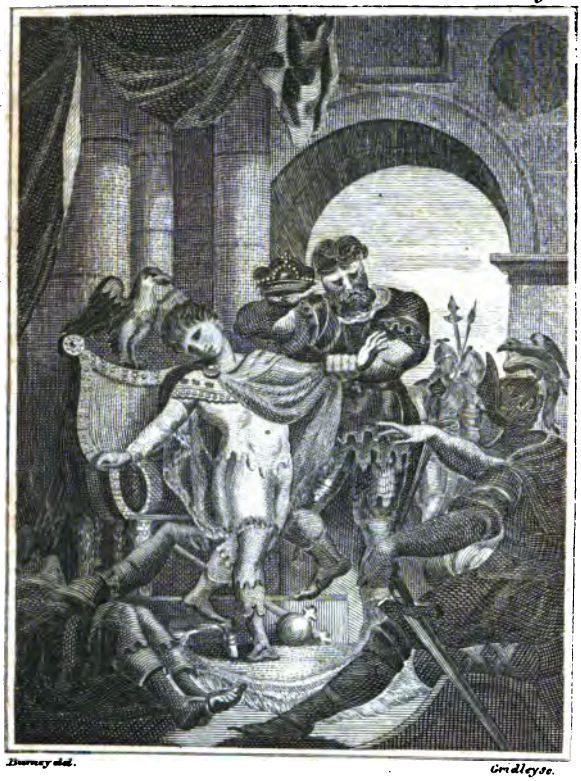

Burney del. Gridley sc.

Odoacer divests Augustulus of the Imperial Ensigns.

UNIVERSAL HISTORY,

ANCIENT AND MODERN;

FROM

THE EARLIEST RECORDS OF TIME,

TO

THE GENERAL PEACE OF 1801.

IN TWENTY-FIVE VOLUMES.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

Factorum est copia nobis.

. . . . . .

Res gestæ regumque, ducumque, et tristia bella.

VOL. VII.

NEW-YORK:

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1804.

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THE

HISTORY

OF

R O M E,

FROM

THE FOUNDATION OF THE CITY

TILL THE

TERMINATION OF THE EASTERN EMPIRE.

BY WILLIAM MAVOR, L. L. D.

VICAR OF HURLEY IN BERKSHIRE, AND CHAPLAIN TO THE EARL OF DUMFRIES.

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THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

CHAP. XXII.

The Reigns of Constantine—Constantine, Constantius, and Constans—Julian and Jovian.

THE Roman empire, which had long been in a lingering state of decline, and found its disorder either hastened or retarded by the virtues and abilities of its princes, without the hope or the possibility of a radical cure, on the death of Constantius and Galerius, was about to undergo some of the most important revolutions which its eventful history affords. A. D. 311.

At this period Constantine, afterwards surnamed the Great, seems to have possessed a preponderance of power; but the government in fact was divided between him and three others: Maxentius, who tyrannized in Rome, a cruel and bigoted polytheist; Licinius, who was adopted by Galerius, and commanded in the east; and Maximin, who had formerly been declared Cæsar with Severus, and who also governed a few of the provinces in the same quarter.

Of these in general, it is unnecessary to say much; but the effects which the conduct and character of Constantine had on the Roman world, require that his history should be briefly described.

Helena, the daughter of an inn-keeper, was his mother, and the place of his birth Naissus, in Dacia. He was about eighteen years of age, when his father, Constantius, was advanced to the rank of Cæsar, and on that occasion his mother was divorced, and himself reduced to a state of humiliation. Instead of following the fortune of his father, he remained in the service of Dioclesian, and after signalizing his valour both in Egypt and Africa, rose to the station of a tribune of the first order. His figure was tall and majestick; he was dexterous in all his exercises, and more susceptible of the charms of ambition than of pleasure. The favour of the soldiers had already pointed him out as worthy of the rank of Cæsar, which exciting the jealousy of Galerius, his father recalled him to his presence, and on his death named him his successor, as has already been mentioned, though he had six children by his empress Theodora, to whom it is, however, but justice to own, that Constantine ever behaved with fraternal affection.

When his father died, he was about thirty-two years old, and consequently in the full vigour both of body and mind. His administration in Gaul, which province had fallen to his share, was marked with courage and equity, while Maxentius was acting the tyrant at Rome. Fired by ambition, or impelled by humanity, Constantine resolved to march into Italy against that general, and to drive him from the capital. It was upon this occasion that he formed a resolution which

produced a signal revolution in the politicks, as well as the morals, of mankind; and gave a new turn to the councils of the wise, and the pursuits of the ambitious. One evening, as we are told by Eusebius, the army being upon its march towards Rome, Constantine was taken up with various considerations upon the fate of sublunary things, and the dangers of his approaching expedition; and sensible of his own incapacity to succeed without divine assistance, he employed his meditations upon the opinions that were then chiefly agitated among mankind, and sent up his ejaculations to Heaven to inspire him with wisdom to choose the path to pursue. It was then, as the sun was declining, that there suddenly appeared a pillow of light in the heavens, in the figure of a cross, with this inscription, ΤΟΥΤΩ ΝΙΚΑ, *In this overcome.* So extraordinary an appearance did not fail to create astonishment both in the emperor and his whole army, who saw it with very different opticks. Those who were attached to paganism, prompted by their auspices, pronounced it to be a most inauspicious omen, portending the most unfortunate events. But it made a different impression on the emperor's mind; who, as the account goes, was further encouraged by visions the same night. He therefore, on the day following, caused a royal standard to be made, resembling that which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded it to be carried before him in the wars, as an ensign of victory and celestial protection. After this, he consulted with several of the principal teachers of Christianity, and made a publick avowal of that religion.

Constantine having thus attached his soldiers

to his interest, who were mostly of the christian persuasion, advanced with ninety thousand foot, and eight thousand horse, almost to the very gates of Rome. Maxentius, who had long abandoned himself to ease and debauchery, now began to make preparation for defence: he first put in practice all the superstitious rites which paganism prescribed; and next consulted the sibyline books, from whence he was informed, that on that great day the enemy of Rome should perish. This prediction, which was equivocal, he applied to Constantine; and therefore leaving all things in the best posture, he confidently advanced from the city, with an army of a hundred and seventy thousand foot, and eighteen thousand horse. The engagement was, for some time, fierce and bloody, but victory declared on the side of his opponent; and Maxentius himself was drowned in his flight, by the breaking down of a bridge, as he attempted to cross the Tyber.

A. D. 312.

Constantine now entering the city, disclaimed the praises which the senate and people were ready to offer; and humbly ascribed his success to a superior power. He even caused the cross, which he was said to have seen in the heavens, to be placed at the right of all his statues with an inscription, implying, "That under the influence of that victorious cross, Constantine had delivered the city from the yoke of tyrannical power, and had restored the senate and people of Rome to their ancient authority." He afterwards ordained that no criminal should, for the future, suffer death by the cross, which had formerly been the usual way of punishing slaves convicted of capital offences.

Edicts were soon after issued, declaring that the Christians should be eased of all their grievances, and received into places of trust and authority. Thus the religion of Christ, which had stood the ordeal of ten persecutions, was seen at once to prevail over the whole Roman empire; and as that enormous fabrick had been built and conducted upon pagan principles, its strength and coherence were lost, when those principles were thus at once subverted.

In this state, matters continued for some time, Constantine contributing with all his might to the interest of religion, and the revival of learning, which had long been upon the decline, and was almost become wholly extinct. But in the midst of these honourable assiduities, the peace of the empire was again disturbed by the preparations of Maximin who governed in the east; and who, desirous of a full participation of power, marched against Licinius, with a very numerous army. In consequence of this step, after many partial conflicts, a general engagement ensued, in which Maximin suffered a total defeat; many of his troops were cut to pieces, and those who survived, submitted to the conqueror. Maximin, however, having escaped the general carnage, once more put himself at the head of another army, resolving to try the fortune of the field; but his death prevented the design. As he died by a very extraordinary kind of madness, the Christians, of whom he was the declared enemy, did not fail to ascribe his end to a judgment from heaven; but this is the age in which false judgments and false miracles make up the bulk of uninstructive history.

Constantine and Licinius thus remaining un-

disputed possessors and partners in the empire, all things promised a peaceable continuance of amity and power. However, it was soon found, that the same ambition which aimed after a part, would be content with nothing less than the whole. Pagan writers ascribe the rupture between these two potentates to Constantine; while the Christians, on the other hand, impute it wholly to Licinius. Both, perhaps, might have concurred; for Licinius is convicted of having persecuted Christianity, which was so highly favoured by his rival; and Constantine is known to have been the first to begin the preparations for an open rupture. Both sides exerted all their influence and power; and, at the head of very formidable armies, came to an engagement near Cybalis, in Pannonia. Constantine, previous to the battle, in the midst of his christian bishops, begged the assistance of Heaven; while Licinius, with equal zeal, called upon the pagan priests to intercede with the gods in his favour. The success was on the side of truth: Constantine, after an obstinate resistance, became victorious; took the enemy's camp; and, after some time, compelled Licinius to sue for a truce, which was acceded to. But this was of no long duration; for soon after, the war breaking out afresh, and the rivals coming once more to a general engagement, it proved decisive. Licinius was entirely defeated, and pursued by Constantine into Nicomedia, where he surrendered himself to the victor; having first obtained an oath that his life
A. D. 323. should be spared, and that he should be permitted to spend the remainder of his days in retirement. This oath, however, Constantine shortly after broke; for either fear-

ing his designs, or finding him actually engaged in fresh conspiracies, he commanded him to be put to death, together with Martian his general, who some time before had been created Cæsar.

Constantine being now left without a rival to divide his power, or any person from whose claims he could have the least apprehensions, resolved to establish Christianity on a solid basis. He commanded that in all the provinces of the empire the orders of the bishops should be exactly obeyed; a privilege of which, in succeeding times, they made but a very indifferent use. He assembled also a general council of these fathers at Nice, in order to repress the heresies that had already crept into the church, particularly that of Arius. A. D. 325.

To this place repaired about three hundred and eighteen bishops, besides a multitude of presbyters and deacons, together with the emperor himself; who all, except about seventeen, concurred in condemning the tenets of Arius; and this heresiarch, with his associates, was banished into a remote part of the empire.

But though he had thus restored universal tranquillity to the empire, he was not able to avoid calamities of a more domestick nature. As the prejudiced historians of this period are entirely at variance with each other, it is not easy to say what were the motives which induced him to put his wife Fausta and his son Crispus to death. The most plausible account is, that Fausta, the empress, who was a woman of great beauty, but of extravagant desires, had long, though secretly, indulged a criminal passion for Crispus, Constantine's son by a former wife. She had tried every art to inspire this youth with a mutual

flame; and finding her more distant efforts ineffectual, had even the confidence to make him an open confession of her love. This produced an explanation, which was fatal to both. Crispus received her advances with detestation; and she, to be revenged, accused him to the emperor. Constantine, fired at once with jealousy and rage, ordered him to die without an hearing; nor did his innocence appear till it was too late for redress; the only reparation, therefore, that remained, was the putting Fausta, the wicked instrument of his former cruelty, to death; which was accordingly executed upon her, together with some others, who had been accomplices in her falsehood and treachery.

But the private misfortunes of a few were not to be weighed against evils of a more general nature, which the Roman empire shortly after experienced. These arose in a great degree from a measure which this emperor conceived and executed, of transferring the seat of the empire from Rome to Byzantium, or Constantinople, as it was afterwards called. Whatever might have been the reasons which induced him to this undertaking; whether it was because he resented some affronts he had received at Rome, or that he supposed Constantinople the most centrical seat of empire, experience has shown that they were all weak and delusive. The empire had long before been verging to ruin; but this, in a great measure, gave precipitation to its downfal. After this it never resumed any share of its former lustre; but, like a tender exotick, languishing by degrees, at length sunk into annihilation.

The ideas of Constantine, however, were vast,

and worthy of an ambitious mind. He designed to build a city, which at once might be the capital and metropolis of the world; and for this purpose he made choice of a situation at Chalcedon, in Asia Minor; but we are told, that in laying out the ground-plan, an eagle caught up the line, and flew with it over to Byzantium, a city which lay upon the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here, therefore, it was thought expedient to fix the seat of empire; and, indeed, nature seemed to have formed it with all the conveniences and all the beauties that can be conferred on situation. It was situated on a plain that rose gently from the water: it commanded that strait which unites the Mediterranean with the Euxine sea, and was furnished with all the advantages which the most indulgent climate could bestow. This city, therefore, he beautified with the most magnificent edifices: he divided it into fourteen regions: built a capitol, an amphitheatre, many churches, and other publick works; and having thus rendered it equal to the magnificence of his idea, he dedicated it in a very solemn manner, to the GOD of martyrs; and, in about two years after, repaired thither with his whole court *. A. D. 330. U. C. 1078.

The immediate sensation at Rome, and indeed of the whole empire, on this important change, was less than might have been expected. For two or three years there was no disturbance of any consequence in the state; but, at length, the

* From this period, to the destruction of the western empire, the histories of Rome and Constantinople are of necessity blended.

Goths finding that the Romans had withdrawn all their garrisons along the Danube, renewed their inroads, and ravaged the country with unheard-of cruelty. Constantine, however, soon repressed their incursions, and so straitened them, that near a hundred thousand of their number perished by cold and hunger. These, and some other insurrections, being happily suppressed, the government of the empire was apportioned as follows: Constantine the emperor's eldest son, commanded in Gaul and the western provinces; Constantius, his second, governed Africa and Illyricum; and Constans, the youngest, ruled in Italy. Dalmatius, the emperor's brother, was sent to defend those parts that bordered upon the Goths; and Annibalianus, his nephew, had the charge of Cappadocia and Armenia Minor. This division of the empire still further contributed to its downfal; for the united strength of the state being no longer brought to repress invasions, the barbarians fought with superior numbers, and though often defeated, prevailed at last. Constantine, however, did not live to feel the calamities resulting from his impolicy. The latter part of his reign was peaceful and splendid; ambassadors from the remotest Indies came to acknowledge his authority; the Persians, who were ready for fresh inroads, upon finding him prepared to oppose them, sent humbly to desire his friendship and forgiveness. He was now above sixty years of age, and had reigned above thirty, when he found his health begin to decline. To obviate the effects of his disorder, which was an intermitting fever, he made use of the warm baths of Constantinople; but receiving no bene-

it from them, he removed, for change of air, to Helenopolis, a city which he had built to the memory of his mother. His disorder however increasing, he tried to divert the langour of illness, by removing to Nicomedia; where finding himself without hopes of recovery, he caused himself to be baptized; and, having soon after received the sacrament, he expired, after a memorable and active reign of almost thirty-two years.

The character of Constantine is represented to us in such very different lights, that it is impossible to appreciate it with certainty: the christian writers of that period adorning it with every strain of panegyrick; the heathens, on the contrary, loading it with all the virulence of invective. Truth probably lies between both; for it seems to be composed of a mixture of virtues and vices, of piety and credulity, of courage and cruelty, of justice and ambition. He established a religion that continues to be the blessing of mankind, but pursued a scheme of politicks that hastened the decadency of the empire.

Constantine left three sons by the empress Fausta, named Constantine, Constantius, and Constans, who had been successively invested with the purple, and placed in situations of great power and trust. He had likewise conferred the title of Cæsar on his nephews, Dalmatius and Annibalianus, and assigned each his peculiar inheritance.

Immediately on his death, however, the ministers and generals, about the court of Constantinople, engaged in secret consultations to exclude the nephews of the deceased emperor from the succession he had intended for them, and

procured a declaration from the soldiers, that the sons of Constantine alone should participate in the empire.

Constantius, to whom his father had recommended the care of his obsequies, as being on the spot, having taken possession of the palace, in order to quiet the apprehensions of Dalmatius and Annibalianus, entered into a solemn contract with them, which immediately after he sought a specious pretext for breaking. From the hands of the bishop of Nicomedia, he received a fictitious scroll, in which the late emperor expressed his suspicions, that he had been poisoned by his brothers, and conjured his sons to revenge his death. This charge, false as it undoubtedly was, precluded the hope of defence, and even the forms of legal proceeding. The soldiers immediately massacred the two uncles of Constantius and seven of his nephews, with other more distant connexions; and of this numerous family, Gallus and Julian alone were saved from the hands of the assassins.

A new division of the provinces followed this bloody tragedy. Constantine, the eldest of the Cæsars, by way of pre-eminence obtained the possession of the new capital; Thrace and the eastern provinces fell to the lot of Constantius; and Constans was acknowledged sovereign by Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. These three princes, according to their seniority, were twenty-one, twenty, and seventeen years of age, when they assumed the reins of government, and were complimented by the senate with the title of Augustus.

At the decease of Constantine the Great, the throne of Persia was filled by Sapor, to whom

his very enemies ascribe the virtues of a statesman, and the courage and conduct of a general. He was animated by a desire of avenging the disgrace of his fathers, and of wresting from the hands of the Romans the five provinces beyond the Tigris. Chosroes, the son of Tiridates, king of Armenia, being in alliance with the Romans, obtained the sceptre of his father, through the influence of that government, after some years of civil dissention; but consented to purchace the friendship of Sapor, by the cession of a province, and an ignominious tribute.

Sapor, indeed, was a formidable rival, as well as a troublesome neighbour to Constantius, during his whole reign. The armies of Rome and Persia encountered each other in nine bloody battles, in which victory generally declared for the latter. In the battle of Singara, the Roman legions, by an effort of tumultuous valour, forced, and possessed themselves of the Persian camp; but while they were engaged in plunder, the vigilant Sapor advanced, under cover of the night, upon the conquerors; and reversing the fortune of the day, compelled his foes to a melancholy retreat. A. D. 348.

At last, while Sapor was besieging Nisibis, for the third time, and had almost forced it to surrender, he received intelligence that the eastern provinces of Persia were ravaged by the Massagetæ. In consequence of this, he concluded a truce with Constantius, who was likewise called off to attend to other affairs; and therefore a pacification being equally desirable to both, the terms were easily adjusted.

Constantine, the eldest son of the late emperor, had early complained of being defrauded in

his just share of the spoils which came by the murder of Dalmatius and Annibalianus. From Constans, in particular, he exacted the cession of the African provinces, and as this was not readily granted, he broke into the dominions of his brother with a tumultuary force, and laid waste the country round Aquileia.

Constans, who then resided in Dacia, being informed of these proceedings, detached a select body of Illyrian troops, and prepared to follow with the remainder of his forces. The contest, however, was soon terminated by the conduct of his lieutenants, who, making a feint of flying, drew Constantine into an ambuscade, where he was slain with his attendants. His provinces readily transferred their allegiance to the conqueror, who refusing to admit his elder brother, Constantius, to a participation, maintained the undisputed possession of by far the greater part of the Roman empire.

A. D. 350. Ten years afterwards, Constans was taken off by Magnentius, an ambitious general of barbarian extraction, who had been corrupted by the assistance of Marcellinus. At a splendid entertainment, given by the latter at Autun, to the nobles of Gaul, Magnentius entered the apartment, invested with the diadem and purple; and the guests being surprised into an instant approbation of his treason, before morning, Magnentius was master of the troops and treasures of the city of Autun. Constans, who was then hunting in a neighbouring forest, on hearing this unexpected event, attempted to fly into Spain; but being overtaken by a party of light-horse, was instantly put to death.

Gaul and Italy immediately submitted to Magnentius; while Illyricum, comprehending the martial countries from the Danube to the extremity of Greece, obeyed the government of Vetranio, a veteran of experience and reputation. This general, listening to the ambitious counsels of Constantina, the widow of Annibalianus, assumed the diadem also, and contracted an alliance with Magnentius.

On the first news of these revolutionary movements, Constantius turned his whole attention to this quarter; and in order to divide his enemies, professed his readiness to acknowledge Vetranio as his partner in the empire; but rejected all idea of treating with Magnentius, the murderer of his brother, and whose death he was determined to revenge.

Vetranio accordingly having withdrawn from his recent alliance with Magnentius, advanced to Sardica with a very numerous army, in order to have an interview with Constantius, and to regulate their joint operations against the usurper.

The two armies having assembled in a large plain, near the last-mentioned city, Constantius and Vetranio, their commanders, were called upon to explain the situation of publick affairs.

The precedency of rank and speech was allowed to Constantius, who acquitted himself with so much ability, that the officers on both sides saluted him as their lawful sovereign; while the troops caught the enthusiasm of loyalty, and the plains of Sardica resounded with, "Long live the son of Constantine!" Vetranio, astonished and confounded at the tergiversation of his troops, prostrated himself at the feet of the emperor, whom he had met as an equal; and

being raised from the ground by Constantius, and assured of favour and protection, quietly retired to the enjoyment of ease and affluence in a private station.

The contest with Magnentius had a more formidable aspect, and presented all the horrors of civil war; to prevent which, Constantius offered to cede all the provinces beyond the Alps. This tender was insultingly rejected; and Magnentius deigned only to promise the emperor pardon, on condition that he instantly abdicated the throne.

It was evident now that force of arms must decide the important contest. Magnentius was besieging Mursa, when the approach of Constantius warned him to prepare for battle. The son of Constantine having animated his soldiers with an harangue, retired to a neighbouring church, and committed to his generals and to God the conduct of this decisive day. With various turns of fortune, the engagement was maintained till night, and ended with the defeat of the usurper, who, after performing prodigies of valour, was obliged to seek safety by flight.

The approach of winter prevented any further operations of consequence; but scarcely had Magnentius fixed his residence at Aquileia, before Rome and Italy, owning their lawful sovereign, obliged him to retire with the remains of his army into the province of Gaul.

It was now the turn of Magnentius to sue in vain; for Constantine was inexorable to all his entreaties. Finding, therefore, his situation desperate, he fell upon his own sword to escape being delivered up to the emperor. His brother Decentius followed the same example; and the

publick tranquillity was confirmed by executing the most guilty of the partisans of Magnentius.

The whole Roman empire was once more united under the sway of Constantius; but the triumphs of his arms seemed only to establish the influence of the eunuchs, who alternately governed the emperor by his fears, his indolence, and his vanity. Of these slaves, the most distinguished was the chamberlain Eusebius, who ruled the monarch and the palace with absolute sway, and by his artful suggestions persuaded his master to add a new crime to the long list of unnatural murders which had taken place in the family of Constantine, by the condemnation of Gallus, his only surviving cousin, except Julian.

Gallus had been invested with the purple in the twenty-fifth year of his age, and afterwards married to the princess Constantina. He then fixed his residence at Antioch, and from thence administered the five great dioceses of the eastern præfecture. But though he behaved with fraternal affection to Julian, his general conduct was tyrannical and disgusting; and having at last insulted Constantius in the persons of two of his ministers, whom he put to death with savage cruelty, he was ordered to appear before the emperor. While he reluctantly complied, he was arrested; and being stripped of the ensigns of his dignity, suffered in prison at Pola in Istria, like the vilest malefactor.

His brother Julian, who now, exclusive of the emperor, alone survived of the numerous posterity of Constantius Chlorus, was involved in the disgrace of Gallus; but after some months' confinement, in the court of Milan, his life was

preserved by the generous interference of the empress Eusebia, and Athens assigned as the place of his honourable exile. This city was highly agreeable to a prince of Julian's taste. From his early youth he had evinced a propensity to the learning, manners, and religion of the Greeks; and in the schools of Athens he established that pre-possession in favour of his talents, which was soon diffused over the Roman world.

Constantius finding himself unequal to the sole government of such a mighty empire, surrounded by barbarous nations, adopting the advice of Eusebia, in opposition to that of the eunuchs, soon recalled Julian, whom he married to his sister Helena, and appointed him as Cæsar, to reign over the countries beyond the Alps.

Though the ministers of Constantius had not been able to ward off this blow against their influence, and retain Julian in a state of inactivity, they determined, by the most insidious manœuvres, to render his political existence disagreeable to him. They removed from about his person all his confidential friends; and, under pretence of showing him respect, placed guards over him, rather to observe his motions than to defend him from danger. His letters were opened in their presence; and so vigilant was their jealousy, that he found it necessary to forbid his friends corresponding with him or visiting him, lest they should incur suspicion, or himself he exposed to risk.

On his quitting the court of Milan for Gaul, where the empire was menaced by the barbarians, he was surrounded with observers, spies,

and opponents, whose study it was to control his actions, and curb his power. Yet amidst these obstacles and intrigues, his first campaign was fortunate, and his success determined the emperor to increase his authority; but in order to lessen the merit of this favour, an officer was placed over Julian, with the most mortifying contempt, as he had been accessary to the destruction of his own brother Gallus.

Had not Julian possessed a great share of prudence and address, as well as the sincere affection of his troops, it would have been impossible for him at once to contend with so many secret machinations of pretended friends, and the continual irruptions of open enemies, who sometimes attacked him on all sides. Whilst the Cæsar scarcely passed a day without a conflict, Constantius led a life of indolence at Milan, during many months. Having, however, resolved to return into the east, he indulged his pride and curiosity by paying a visit to the ancient capital, before he set out from Italy. Accordingly, he entered Rome at the head of a triumphal procession; was lodged in the palace of Augustus, presided in the senate, and harrangued the people. On seeing the temple of Jupiter, the publick baths, the amphitheatre, the tomb of Adrian, the theatre of Pompey, the forum of Trajan, and other splendid edifices, he exclaimed, "Fame, which exaggerates all other "things, falls short of the truth in her account "of Rome." He would not enter the senate-house, however, till the altar of victory and other remains of pagan superstition were removed: and by several sanguinary edicts, he endeavoured to root out idolatry and divina-

tion, which would have been more effectually checked by exposing them to merited ridicule and contempt.

After spending thirty days in Rome, his departure was hastened by the intelligence of the distress and danger of the Illyrian provinces; but, to perpetuate the memory of this visit, he ordered the largest of the Egyptian obelisks which Constantine had designed to decorate his new city, to be transported from the banks of the Nile, and erected in the great circus of the old metropolis.

Julian continued to reap fresh laurels, all of which he referred to the emperor, who on his part accepted, without scruple, the appropriation and the glory. In fact he carried this so far, that in the account he published of the important victory gained by his cousin at Strasburgh, he attributed the whole honour to himself, without even naming the conqueror. Yet it must not be denied, that Constantius had some title to military reputation of his own: for he had personally fought the Quadi and Sarmatians, both warlike nations, and had obliged them to sue for peace. But though brave when engaged in war, he loved peace and did every thing in his power to maintain it, particularly with the Persians, against whom he did not commence his march till driven to extremity.

A. D. 359.

This unavoidable war brought the intrigues against Julian to a crisis. The magnitude of Sapor's preparations, and perhaps the emperor's jealousy of the Cæsar, induced him to require a reinforcement of his chosen troops. This order, which was peremptory, reaching Julian at a

moment of difficulty and danger, when the Picts and Scots were ravaging Britain, gave him the most sensible uneasiness; to aggravate which, he had every reason to apprehend that, should his forces be diminished, the Germans, whom fear only kept in awe, would soon re-enter Gaul.

In this critical situation he determined to sacrifice his feelings to his duty, and to show the promptitude of his obedience to the imperial will; sending therefore for Decentius, who was charged with the emperor's commission, he professed his acquiescence, but hinted, that the troops required had enlisted on condition of not being compelled to pass the Alps, and that there might be danger in violating the engagement.

Events verified the prediction: no sooner was Decentius ready to depart with the troops he had selected, than the murmurs of discontent spread from tent to tent. The soldiers at last found words, and openly complained that they were sent to the extremity of the world, and obliged to leave their wives, their children, and their friends, a prey to the barbarians. To remove this cause of opposition, Julian permitted them to take their families with them, and offered them conveyances at the publick expense. —He carried his attention to the discharge of his duty still further; and as he knew the attachment of his soldiers, he advised Decentius not to lead them through Paris, the place of his residence, lest they should be tempted to some act of violence on the prospect of leaving him. The commander, however, did not think it reasonable to refuse the indulgence which they ardently begged, of being permitted to bid their general farewel. Julian received them

with kindness; and from his tribunal, gratefully commemorated their past exploits, and concluded, with recommending a prompt and cheerful obedience to the commands of Constantius.

The soldiers heard the latter part of his speech in gloomy silence; and after a short pause, were dismissed to their quarters. The officers were entertained by the Cæsar; and when they retired from the feast, mutually lamented the severity of their fate, which tore them from a general they loved, and from a country which contained all they held dear. The common soldiers on this occasion had likewise been indulged with wine: their spirits were elevated to a sufficient pitch of daring or suffering; and conspiracy, the only expedient which could prevent the dreaded separation, was proposed, as it has been imagined, by some warm partisans of Julian, and approved by the whole army.

The ferment increased; and at the hour of midnight, the impatient multitude encompassed the palace of Cæsar, and pronounced the irrevocable words, "Julian Augustus."

The prince strenuously rejected the proffered honour, and by securing the doors, endeavoured to seclude his person from their tumultuary attachment; but no sooner had the dawn appeared, than the soldiers forcibly entered the palace, and with a respectful violence, seized the person of Julian, placed him in his tribunal, and made the air ring with the salutations of Augustus.

Till the third hour of the day Julian remained inflexible to their prayers, their reproaches, and their menaces. He entreated them not to sully the fame of so many victories by the crime of rebellion; and undertook to procure the em-

peror's pardon for what they had done, and even the revocation of the order which had occasioned their revolt. The only answer they made, was "that if he wished to live, he must "consent to reign;" and then elevating him on a shield, they placed a military collar on his head, by way of a diadem; while Julian betrayed every symptom of chagrin and grief at the investiture he had received, though it is probable that a great part of it was affected.

Having accepted the dignity of Augustus, he was determined to support it: but yet wished by every method of conciliation with Constantius, to save his country from the horrors of a civil war. For this purpose, he penned, in his own name and that of the army, a very respectful epistle, acknowledging the supremacy of Constantius, and the irregularity of his own election, and conceding every thing, except the sovereignty of the provinces beyond the Alps with all their appendant royalties, which he claimed in full right.

Preparations for war accompanied the negociations for peace. As soon as the season of the year permitted, Julian took the field against the Attuarii, a tribe of the Franks who had ravaged the frontiers of the empire, and penetrating into their country, conquered them with great loss, and fixed his winter quarters at Vienna.

When the ambassadors of Julian, who had experienced many delays in their journey to the east, were introduced to the presence of Constantius, they found him in great agitation, and violently incensed against their master. The death of Helena had dissolved the domestick connexion between them, and the empress Eusebia,

the constant patroness of Julian, was likewise no more. The emperor was therefore left to follow the impulses of his own passions, and the artful suggestions of his ministers. He informed Julian, that the only conditions on which either he or his adherents could hope for pardon, was to renounce the rank of Augustus, and to acknowledge himself a dependant on the supreme head of the empire.

Irritated at receiving such humiliating terms, Julian now resolved boldly to commit his life and fortune to the chance of a civil war. The haughty epistle of Constantius was read before a military audience: and the faint proposal of Julian to resign the purple, if he could obtain the consent of his electors, was drowned in the repeated acclamations. The assembly was dismissed; and a message being returned to Constantius full of contempt, hatred, and resentment, Julian publicly declared that he committed his safety to the immortal gods, and thus renounced the religion as well as the friendship of the son of Constantine.

The circumstances of the emperor of Gaul required vigorous and immediate exertions. He discovered that the barbarians had been invited to invade his provinces, and he had also the forces of Constantius to contend with. Where-
A. D. 361. fore assembling his army in the vicinity of Basil, he speedily detached ten thousand men under Nevitta, through Rhætia and Noricum; an equal number, led by Jovius and Jovinus, were ordered to follow the course of the highways through the Alps and the northern confines of Italy, and both detachments to join their sovereign under the walls of Sirmium.

Meanwhile Julian, with three thousand volunteers, plunged into the recesses of the Marcian forest, and emerging between Ratisbon and Vienna, seized a fleet of light vessels; and committing himself and his followers to the rapid stream of the Danube, in eleven days landed within a few miles of Sirmium.

His two generals having carried all before them, soon effected a junction with their master at the appointed rendezvous, from whence Julian dispatched an apology for his conduct to the principal cities of the empire, trusting to his arguments as well as his arms. With the duplicity of a hypocrite, rather than the effrontery of a daring apostate, he took care to word his manifestoes according to the prevailing religion of the people he addressed. He likewise assisted at christian service, and pagan sacrifices, in order to conciliate opposite interests; and by his policy united with his prowess, had made considerable progress towards establishing himself, not only a partner but paramount in the empire, when he was informed of the almost sudden death of Constantius. A. D. 361.

That prince having disengaged himself from the Persians by a hasty peace, had advanced precipitately against his rival, when a fever, occasioned by the agitation of his mind, or the fatigues of his journey, obliged him to halt at Mopsucrene, a little town about twelve miles beyond Tarsus; where, after a short illness, Constantius breathed his last, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and the twenty-fourth of his reign. In person he was diminutive, but capable of exertion when occasion required: he was tem-

perate, but extremely uxorious; and, in a word, inherited the defects without the abilities of his father. In religion he was rather a sectary than a Christian.

The eunuchs who surrounded the court of Constantinople, made a feeble attempt to prolong their power, by electing another emperor suited to their own taste; but their intrigues were rejected by the army, and two officers of rank were dispatched to assure Julian, that every sword in the empire would be drawn at his command.

That prince, impatient to visit his new capital, and the place of his birth, hastened his march; and when he reached Heraclea, all Constantinople poured out to meet and behold the hero who had vanquished the barbarians of Germany, and traversed in successful career the whole continent of Europe. It was in the thirty-second year of his age, that he acA. D. 361. quired the undisturbed possession of the Roman world; and from the moment of his ascending the throne, he seems to have given himself up wholly to the duties of his station. He neither suffered his body nor his mind to be relaxed by sensual indulgences: a hasty dinner succeeded a morning spent in business; his supper was still more light, and, after a short interval of rest, he was awakened by the entrance of fresh secretaries who had slept the preceding day. He alike disdained the amusements of the theatre and the circus; and wrapped himself up in pagan philosophy, with which his mind had been early imbued. Though of low stature and unpleasing aspect, he was well made, active, and uncommonly expert in all his exercises. His

memory was excellent, and he possessed much penetration and presence of mind.

One of the first and most necessary acts of the government of Julian, was the reformation of the imperial court, in which he acted with indiscriminating severity, making no benevolent exceptions for the age, services, or poverty of the domesticks of the late emperor's family; but, by a single edict, reduced the palace to a desert.

Having corrected the abuses, he next set about punishing the crimes of his predecessor's reign. A court of inquiry was instituted for this purpose, which, in its ferocious zeal, sometimes included the innocent in the sentence of the guilty; but the condemnation and death of Eusebius, who had long abused the favour of Constantius, was generally regarded as an act of justice.

Julian discarded also the whole army of spies and informers which Constantius had kept in pay, esteeming it unworthy of him to indulge suspicion, or to be always on the watch for crime. He seemed to possess a love of freedom; and though his apostacy has tarnished the lustre of his character, he was not wholly destitute of liberality, even to those who opposed his favourite prejudices. An anecdote of Julian, which confirms this opinion of him, is worthy of being recorded.

A father had disinherited his son in consequence of his having renounced Christianity for paganism. Julian ordered them both into his presence, when he thus addressed the father: "I think nothing more unreasonable than the "use of force where religion is concerned. "Allow your son to follow one different from "yours, as I do you to profess one different.

"from mine; though I could easily oblige you "to renounce it." "What," replied the father, "can you speak in favour of a wretch detested "by Heaven, who has preferred falsehood to "truth, and abjured the faith of the true God, "to bend the knee before an idol?" To this the emperor answered, "Invectives are here ill "placed;" and then addressing himself to the son, "Since your father is deaf to your entrea-"ties, and pays no regard to my recommen-"dation, I will take care of you."

However, though Julian was not an intolerent bigot *, he showed a glaring partiality for the adherents and the converts to polytheism. Though he overlooked the merit of christian constancy, he nobly rewarded those Gentiles who had preferred their gods to the favour of his immediate predecessors; nor was he indifferent to the claims of the Christians who became proselytes to the ancient religion of the state. The natural temper of the soldiery made his conquests over their religious tenets easy; and the weight of an army in the scale of despotism, rendered the pious seduction of importance. The legions of Gaul devoted themselves to the faith as well as the fortunes of Julian, and assisted with fervent devotion and voracious appetite, at the sacrifices which were repeatedly offered of whole hecatombs of oxen.

The restoration of the ancient temple of Jerusalem, attracted the ambitious mind of the emperor; who, in his enmity to Christianity,

* His cruel treatment of Athanasius, a name which will ever be associated with orthodoxy, reflects disgrace on the philosophical character of Julian.

flattered himself, that the completion of the undertaking would be, at least, to furnish a specious argument against the faith of prophecy, and the truth of revelation. To accomplish his design, he employed one of his ablest generals, named Alypius; and ordered the governor of Palestine to lend his most strenuous support in restoring the work of Solomon to its pristine beauty.

The Jews too, in hopes of obtaining a permanent settlement in the country that was still dear to them, flocked together from every part of the empire, and contributed both their fortune and their labour, to accelerate the wished-for event; but neither the power of a great monarch, the resources of an empire, nor the enthusiasm of a whole people, could effectuate the purpose. Contemporary writers record the preter-natural obstacles which continually interrupted, and at last put an end to the work; and Ammianus Marcellinus in particular asserts, "That horrible balls of fire breaking out from "the foundations, with frequent and reiterated "attacks, rendered the place, from time to "time, inaccessible to the scorched and blasted "workmen; and the victorious element con-"tinuing in this manner obstinately and reso-"lutely bent, as it were, to drive them to a dis-"stance, the undertaking was entirely aban-"doned."

Julian having settled the internal policy of the empire, and being possessed of the full powers both of body and mind, was desirous to signalize his reign by some splendid military achievements. Sapor presented an object worthy of his arms, and therefore he determined to chastise this

haughty Persian, who had so long braved the power and majesty of Rome.

Accordingly, a considerable army was levied and the generals appointed, with which Julian set out from Constantinople; and marching through Asia Minor, reached Antioch, a city with whose effeminate amusements and licentious manners the emperor was soon disgusted, as the inhabitants were with the austerity of his behaviour. The Syrian Greeks even ventured to turn his person and pursuits into ridicule, and the streets resounded with songs and libels against the stoical apostate. Julian, however, with great good humour, in return composed an ironical confession of his own faults, and a severe invective against the effeminate manners of Antioch; a performance which still remains, at once a monument of the wit, resentment, humanity, and indiscretion, of the emperor.

A. D. 362.

At this town, as well as others which he passed through in the Persian expedition, Julian practised a variety of superstitious rites to propitiate the gods, and to discover the issue of the war. For this latter purpose, it is said, that he barbarously sacrificed young maidens, in order to consult their palpitating entrails; a crime so detestable, that it is difficult to believe the fact. It is certain, however, that he made offerings, and burnt incense to the sun, moon, and all the planets; to the olympian and to the infernal gods.

But, while he thus sought support from supernatural means, he seems to have neglected those which were obvious and ready for forwarding his arms. With an ill-judged haughtiness, he

rejected the offer made by the Saracens, to march in conjunction with him against the Persians. "The Romans," said he, "ought to "succour their allies; but of their assistance "they do not stand in need:" and when they asked a gratification which his predecessors had paid them, he added, "that a warlike prince "had iron and not gold to bestow." On this the offended Saracens immediately joined the enemy, to whom they proved highly serviceable.

The expressions he used to Arsaces, king of Armenia, who was a Christian, are still more offensive. Finding that he had neglected his orders to join his generals and begin the war, he concluded a threatening letter to that prince, in the subsequent blasphemous terms: "And the God whom you "adore shall not be able to protect you from "the effects of my indignation." If we compare the wisdom of the measures which Julian pursued in former wars with his improvidence and rashness in this, it will be difficult to assign a cause for the contrast. No sooner was he within the Persian territories, than he caused the bridge which divided the two states to be broken down, in order to convince his soldiers, that their safety depended solely on their courage, and that death or victory awaited them.

After various skirmishes, sieges, and toilsome marches, frequently made in opposition to the opinion of his best officers, he turned from the banks of the Tigris, where his fleet could supply provisions; and with a singular infatuation caused the ships to be burnt, lest they should fall into the hands of his enemies during his absence.

Trusting to the guides of the country, who had promised to conduct him by a short and easy

route, he set out with his army; but the fire, which was to consume the fleet, had scarcely begun to blaze, before the guides were discovered to be traitors to his cause. In vain did the Romans now attempt to extinguish the conflagration; the whole fleet was destroyed in spite of their exertions. Julian hastened, as the only alternative, to meet the enemy; who, on their part, advanced, but were beaten. They fled, and the imperial army pursuing them, soon found themselves in a ruined and desert country, from which it was impossible to draw subsistence. Still, however, they pressed on, hoping to arrive in more fertile regions; but the further they advanced the more melancholy was their prospect; while the Persians incessantly harassed their march, and thousands perished by drought.

In this dilemma, the mind of Julian was agitated to such a degree, that, like Brutus in the fields of Philippi, he fancied that spectres appeared before him. A fiery meteor, which shot athwart the sky and vanished from his sight, convinced him that he had seen the menacing countenance of the god of war. The Tuscan auspices warned him to abstain from action; but superstition giving way to reason, or rather the necessity of the case, the emperor pursued his march through a mountainous country, the hills of which had been secretly occupied by the Persians. An alarm that his rear was suddenly attacked, brought back the astonished emperor. Without his cuirass, and defended only by a shield which he had snatched from a soldier, he hastened with a sufficient detachment to repel the enemy. A similar danger recalled him to the front; and at the same instant the centre claim-

ed his presence and assistance. The Persians fled: and Julian, eager in the pursuit, was exposed to a shower of missile weapons. A javelin, after razing the skin of his arm, transpierced the ribs, and stuck with its point in his liver. He fell senseless from his horse, and was borne to his tent. As the blood flowed copiously from the wound, it is said that he caught some of it in his hand, and sprinkling it toward the sun, exclaimed, "O Galilean, thou hast conquered!" If this act really took place, it seems to imply a meditated defiance of Heaven: and that it was his resolution to extirpate the christian religion, had he returned victorious; a design which has certainly been ascribed to this apostate by contemporary writers.

After the first dressing of his wound, Julian was anxious to return to the combat, but he was too much exhausted to allow this. On the second dressing, it was declared mortal. He resigned himself with courage to his fate; convinced, to use his own expression at this awful moment, "that he who is attached to life, when it is ne-
"cessary to die, is as weak as he who would
"die, when it is necessary to live." He declined naming any successor. "I shall cautiously re-
"frain," said he, "from any word that may
"tend to influence your suffrages in the election
"of an emperor: my choice might be impru-
"dent; and if it should not be ratified by the
"consent of the army, it might be fatal to the
"person whom I should recommend.—I shall
"only, therefore, as a good citizen, express my
"hopes, that the Romans may be blessed with
"the government of a virtuous sovereign."

His wound, from the exertion he made to

speak, began to bleed afresh: he called for a draught of cold water; and soon after expired, in the thirty-second year of his age, after a short reign of one year and eight months, from the death of Constantius.

A. D. 363.

The character of Julian has been pourtrayed in very different colours. By infidels it has ever been exalted to the highest pitch of perfection; while the christian writers have thrown a dark shade even over those virtues which he really seems to have possessed. In fact, he appears to have been a compound of good and bad qualities; but it was probably fortunate for the world that the latter had not time to develope their full malignity.

The death of Julian, in whom the race of Constantius Chlorus became extinct, left the empire without a master and without an heir. The situation of a famished army, encompassed by a host of barbarians, shortened the moments of grief and deliberation; and after the remains of the emperor were decently embalmed, in order to be interred at Tarsus, the various officers of the army were summoned to assist in a military senate. The merits of Sallust were unanimously allowed; but the venerable præfect, alleging his infirmities, strenuously declined the purple. While they debated, a few voices saluted Jovian, then in no higher rank than first domestick, with the titles of emperor and Augustus: the acclamation was repeated by the guards; and the new prince, astonished at his fortune, was invested with the imperial ornaments, and received the oath of fidelity from the generals.

The first order of the new emperor, who had

supported with credit the character of a Christian and a soldier, was to prosecute the intended march; but the news of the death of Julian having revived the confidence of Sapor, he threw the rear guard into disorder, and with difficulty they reached the city of Dura. The Tigris was still on their left; and after several ineffectual efforts, the army was compelled to relinquish its design of passing that rapid stream. Their distress was hourly augmented by the pressure of famine, and the increasing numbers of the enemy; when the sound of peace, though concluded on the most disgraceful terms, once more inspired hope into the dejected Romans. The cession of five provinces and of some important cities, purchased the deliverance of the emperor and his army, from the forlorn situation to which they had been reduced.

The faith of Jovian was announced to the people, by his displaying the banners of the cross at the head of his legions, in their fatiguing return towards Constantinople. The edicts of Julian were abolished; and the attachment of the emperor to the orthodox belief, was declared by the reverence he expressed for the virtues of the great Athanasius. This persecuted prelate was again seated on the archiepiscopal throne; and every part of the emperor's conduct showed his religion untinctured with bigotry; and his benevolence of intention, which alike regarded all his subjects, whatever principles they professed.

Impatient to occupy the palace of Constantinople, Jovian had rapidly advanced as far as Dadastana, a town lying between Ancyra and Nice; while his wife with an imperial train was hastening to meet him. She brought with her,

their infant son Veronianus; and the moment of embracing her husband seemed at hand, when, like a stroke of thunder, it was announced to her that he was no more. Having indulged rather freely at supper, he retired to rest; and next morning was found dead in his bed. Various causes are assigned for his sudden exit; the quantity of wine,—the quality of the mushrooms he had eaten,—the vapour of charcoal,—the smell of fresh lime,—have all been insisted on; but little inquiry was made at the time, from whence it may be inferred that some one was interested in the concealment. His corpse was carried to Constantinople; and the pomp prepared for his entrance was changed to the solemnities of his funeral, after reigning somewhat less than twelve months.

CHAP. XXIII.

The Reigns of Valentinian and Valens, Gratian, Valentinian the Second, and Theodosius.

FOR ten days after the death of Jovian, the Roman world remained without a master. At last, after several candidates had been proposed and rejected, the suffrages of the electors were united in favour of *Valentinian*, the son of Gratian. His father, from an obscure situation, had risen to the highest commands of Africa and Britain; and the son had on every occasion displayed a manly spirit, and a vigorous mind. In his person he was tall, in his countenance dignified; and his general habits, which all sprung from virtue, had acquired him the esteem and respect of the army. He professed the christian faith, and was now in the forty-third year of his age.

Valentinian being thus raised to the purple with universal acclamation, was next called upon, with some degree of peremptory rudeness, to appoint a colleague. His intrepid looks amid the armed multitude, and his words, bespoke a sense of his own dignity. "The choice of an associate," he observed, "requires deliberation; that shall be *my* care; "let *your* conduct be dutiful and consistent. "Retire to your quarters; refresh your minds "and bodies; and expect the customary dona- "tion on the accession of an emperor." Soon A. D. 364.

after Valentinian, having consulted the assembly of the chiefs, bestowed the title of Augustus on his brother Valens; and occasioned the final separation of the Western and Eastern empire, by assigning his colleague the præfecture of the East, with the capital of Constantinople, while he retained Illyricum, Italy, and Gaul, and fixed his court at Milan.

At this juncture, the barbarians were pressing on the frontiers of the Roman empire in all quarters, and gradually pushing their inroads to the very centre. The Germans attacked Gaul and Rhætia; the Sarmatians and Quadi over-ran Pannonia; the Picts, Saxons, Scots, and Attacottis, invaded Britain; the Asturians, Spain; and the Moors, Africa.

It required all the bravery and conduct of Valentinian, and all the skill of his generals, to make head against so many powerful nations. Jovian, however, was considered as the scourge of the Germans, as Theodosius was of the Picts. The son of the latter was equally renowned in arms; and these commanders were no less distinguished for the vigour with which they carried on war, than for the good faith with which they observed treaties when once made. Some of the other generals of Valentinian were, perhaps, more politick though less sincere. Considering that they had only barbarians to deal with, they thought it no disgrace to take advantage of them in the interpretation of treaties, or to sacrifice truth and justice to the preservation of the integrity of the empire.

A German monarch was very nearly trapanned by the emperor himself, and only escaped the snare that was laid for him by a precipitate flight.

The Saxons, less fortunate, after beating one of Valentinian's generals, were afterwards surrounded, and unsuspectingly cut in pieces. This detestable treachery would have left a stigma on the character of the most barbarous nations, and ill accorded with the generous spirit and high sense of honour that ever distinguished the Roman people.

At this period, indeed, corruption had risen to its height, and truth and honesty shrunk abashed. Valentinian was severe in punishing those ministers that abused his confidence, yet no one was ever more frequently deceived. At last he knew not whom to trust, in such a degenerate state of manners. Complaints of the most serious nature having been preferred against Romanus, the governor of Africa, and a person of great influence at court, Valentinian determined to probe the business. Accordingly, he deputed Palladius as commissioner, on account of his character for probity; yet the governor found means by intrigue to destroy the independence of his censor's report, and to keep him from publishing the irregularities which he had discovered. With consummate art, he engaged the officers to whom Palladius distributed their pay to make him presents, under colour of the respect which they owed to a man who was in such high favour with the emperor. The commissioner accepted the money, and then proceeded to examine every thing with attention, and found the province to be in a deplorable condition, as it had been described by the accusers of Romanus.

Palladius having informed himself of the truth of affairs, reproached the governor with his con-

duct in the administration of the province, and avowed his resolution to make a report to the emperor according to the truth. "You are at "liberty so to do," said the insolent Romanus; "but neither shall I conceal from our common "master your facility in receiving presents, and "the use you make of the trust which he re-"poses in you." The conscience of Palladius was touched, and dreading the indignant justice of the emperor, entered into an accommodation with the governor, and promised a favourable report. The unfortunate Africans, in consequence, were sacrificed; and the complainants, by alternately employing promises and threats, were cajoled into a retraction of what they had alleged against Romanus, without foreseeing the danger to which they exposed themselves. Valentinian being thus deceived by the false representations of Palladius, which were further corroborated by the accusers recalling their charges, ordered the supposed defamers of his governor to lose their tongues, and even some of them to suffer death.

But though craft and avarice characterized the ministers of Valentinian in general, there were some splendid instances of a contrary conduct among them. The sincerity of Iphicles may well contrast with the duplicity of Palladius, which has just been mentioned. This man being delegated by the Epirots, to thank the emperor for the upright government of Probus, who presided over their province; and Valentinian, suspecting that these thanks were the result of entreaty, or extorted by threats, said to Iphicles, "Are you "really and truly charged by your countrymen "to give me thanks?" The reply, though con-

sonant to truth, would have done honour to the dexterity of a modern jesuit: "They undoubtedly gave me in charge to come and express "their gratitude to you; but when I received the "commission, their eyes were filled with tears."

Valentinian, though often duped, took the most sedulous pains to discover the truth, and with unrelenting severity punished every deviation in others from their duty. His wife Severa, who had unjustly acquired an estate, he first obliged to restore it, and then repudiated her for the fault. He exhibited many examples of torture, and even burning alive unfaithful officers; and yet the punishments he inflicted seldom operated as a warning on others.

Indeed he was so much the slave of self-conceit, and entertained such a high idea of his sagacity and talents, that it was probably considered as meritorious to deceive him. No one dared advise for fear of offending him: he was easily provoked; and his anger, when once excited, was little short of madness. When his ministers, however, saw him giving way to his passion, they took care to pretend having just received intelligence that some province was menaced by the barbarians, on which he became perfectly tractable: and throughout his whole reign indeed he was fully employed in repressing the incursions of the numerous enemies that environed his division of the empire*, and in giving energy to the feeble councils of Valens. The Quadi were the last objects of his enmity.

* The five great theatres of the war were Germany, Britain, Africa, the Danube, and the East, in all which Valentinian took an active part, either personally or by his generals.

These having provoked him beyond all sufferance or forgiveness, he reviled their ambassadors who had come to sue for mercy, in language at once gross and intemperate; but while he was straining his voice, and the violence of his gestures expressed the agitation of his soul, he burst a blood-vessel, and fell speechless into the arms of his attendants. He died at the age of fifty-five, after having reigned twelve years; and left his throne to his son Gratian, whom he had invested with the purple from his earliest youth. The stern temper of Valentinian generally rendered him insensible to the dictates of humanity: he considered clemency as a weakness, and severity as a virtue. Yet he was not without bright parts in his character. In an age of religious contention, his wise and moderate administration contributed to soften the manners, and abate the prejudices of religious factions.

A. D. 375.

But to return to Valens. In the second year of this prince's reign, a competitor arose, in the person of Procopius, a kinsman of Julian. A rumour prevailed, that he had been invested with the imperial purple by the Apostate, before the altar of the Moon at Carrhæ; and certain it was, he had some pretensions, either natural or delegated, to the empire. On the election of Jovian he was removed to a distance, by being appointed to conduct the corpse of Julian to Tarsus, and to superintend the celebration of his obsequies. When the ceremony was concluded, Procopius withdrew himself from the eyes of the publick, and all endeavours to discover his retreat proved ineffectual. In fact, he had concealed himself with a friend in the vicinity of Constantinople, which he occasionally entered in disguise,

in order to observe the disposition of men's minds, in regard to the reigning prince.

Finding, after some time, that the character of Valens was despised, and himself absent in Syria, busied with his preparations against the Goths; Procopius, clothed in a purple vest, appeared, as if he had risen from the dead, in the midst of Constantinople. The soldiers received him with shouts of joy and vows of fidelity: the malcontents flocked to his standard; the magistrates were seized; the prisons and arsenals broke open; and, in the space of a few hours, Procopius became master of the imperial city. The Gothick princes gladly contracted an alliance with him; and several cities and provinces either voluntarily acknowledged the dominion of the usurper, or submitted to the force of his arms. The countenance and support of Faustina, widow of the emperor Constantius, added dignity to his claims; and the princess Constantia, scarcely five years old, being shown to the army, they unanimously swore that they would protect the royal infant with the last drop of their blood.

Valens was at Cæsarea when he first received intelligence of this rebellion. Despairing of his fortune on account of the external foes he had at the same time to combat, he proposed to negociate with the usurper, and abdicate the purple. From this design he was dissuaded by his ministers. The præfect Sallust, who had been displaced, was again restored to his authority; and the affections of the people being in some measure conciliated by this appointment, the soldiers of Procopius began to desert his standard, as rapidly as they had joined it. In two successive engagements at Thyatira and Nacosia, the kins-

man of Julian was betrayed by his troops; and after wandering some time among the woods, he was taken up, and carried bound to the emperor, who caused him to be decapitated.

Had Valens only exerted himself to defend the power with which he was legitimately invested against all opponents, he might have appeared respectable, if not praise-worthy; but his cruel absurdity in attempting to fetter the consciences of men, and tormenting his subjects for their opinions, deserves our execration. A zealous Arian himself, he inveterately persecuted the orthodox; against whom he thought disgrace, exclusion from offices, and spoliations of property, and even exile, insufficient; but also employed tortures and death. Eighty ecclesiasticks deputed by the clergy of Constantinople, to complain of having an Arian bishop placed over them by the emperor, were ordered to be put to death. The præfect, however, fearing lest such an execution should excite commotions, put them on board a vessel, which being carried to a sufficient distance from the shore by the ministers of his vengeance, was cruelly set on fire, and consumed; the assassins escaping in a boat.

With all the superstitious prejudices of a little mind, the attention of Valens was equally directed to divines, to sorcerers and astrologers, deliverers of oracles, fortune-tellers, and the deceivers and deceived of every kind. Every book containing circles or lines, figures of animals, or delineations of the human body, was held to be the abominable collections of a diabolical science, and an instrument of sorcery, deserving to be committed to the flames. These were sought for with the most vexatious industry and per-

severing diligence; and the most sacred retirements of domestick life were ransacked for their discovery. Unhappy were those in whose possession such manuscripts were found, which though there only by chance, brought on the possessor the same punishment, as if they had been applied to forbidden arts. Examples exist of this notorious injustice, and even of the iniquity of inquisitors, who multiplied the number of the guilty, by concealing interdicted books in places from whence they might easily be drawn, to obtain the stipulated reward.

Indeed, every thing which appeared to bear any relation to magick was reputed a crime; and it was no difficult matter for malicious ingenuity to torture the most innocent actions and appearances into suspicion of guilt. Festus, the pro-consul of Asia, exerted his abilities in such discoveries. He put the philosopher Cæranius to death, merely for having, in a letter to his wife, made use of a term employed in sorcery. A woman, by certain words, cured the pro-consul's daughter of a fever, and was rewarded by being condemned to death as an infernal agent. A young man having touched the marble of a bath with the fingers of both his hands, and then applied them successively to his chest, pronouncing the four vowels, as a charm against a complaint in his stomach, was immediately executed as a sorcerer and magician. Such were the barbarities exercised by the ministers of the superstitious Valens; but as it has been judiciously observed, "if the emperor looked upon magick as "a vain science, he ought not to have been alarm-"ed at it: but if on the contrary, he had any "faith in it, he ought to have allowed it; since

"the execution of what is foretold depended not "upon him." This reflection peculiarly applies to a prediction relative to himself. The emperor, on being informed that some person having consulted an oracle to know who was to be his successor, and was told that his name began with *Theod*, ordered all the bearers of those fatal letters to be massacred. The persecution fell heaviest on the pagan philosophers, who had extremely increased under Julian the apostate, and who constituted a kind of religious society in which polytheism was professed.

The rigorous statutes he passed on other matters of morals and police, and the still greater severity with which they were carried into execution, excited a general detestation against Valens; and the last time he left Constantinople, its inhabitants swore he should never re-enter that city and find them there. "May Valens be "burnt alive!" became a common imprecation against him; and the curse proved prophetick.

During the whole reign of Valens, he had carried on war with the Goths; and these people, though repeatedly beaten and admitted to terms, were too numerous to be quiet, and had too many enemies not to pant for revenge. Having been expelled from their possessions along the mouths of the Borysthenes and Niester, and impelled forwards by the Huns, a barbarous nation from the north-west of Asia, they presented themselves on the banks of the Danube, to the number of two hundred thousand men, earnestly entreating the Romans to grant them a passage, and receive them into the empire. Valens imprudently gave them settlements in Thrace; but soon after being irritated with bad usage,

they took up arms under their king Fritigern, and, being joined by the Huns and Alans, once more prepared to take the field.

During these distractions in the East, the emperor Gratian, who had mounted the throne of the West on the death of his father, and had his infant brother Valentinian associated with him, was engaged in a serious and bloody contest with the Alemanni. The intelligence that Gratian intended to lead his forces to the assistance of his uncle Valens, pointed out to the turbulent Alemanni the moment of successful invasion. They passed the Rhine on the ice, amounting to forty thousand men; and the youthful emperor having collected his forces, marched against them, accompanied by the experienced Nanienus, and Mellobaudes, who united in his person the characters of count of the domesticks and king of the Franks. In the plains of Alsace, the well-practised evolutions of the Romans triumphed over the valour of the Alemanni, five thousand of whom, after the death of their king, escaped into the woods and mountains. A. D. 387. The emperor pursued the enemy into their own country, and compelled them to sue for peace. Gratian, though then only nineteen years of age, gave such an earnest of courage and conduct, that he inspired his subjects with the firm hopes of a long and auspicious reign.

While Gratian was thus receiving the homage and applause of his subjects, Valens, as we have already seen, was detested by his people, and surrounded by enemies. At last he was urged by the clamours of the multitude to march against the barbarians whom he had incautiously admitted into his dominions. The turbulence of

the citizens conspired with the rashness of Valens to hasten the downfal of the Roman empire. Some of the generals of the emperor having obtained partial victories over the Goths, and abundance of spoil, Valens now determined to share in the glory of their victories, and with a numerous army advanced to Adrianople.

The imperial camp was pitched under the walls of that city, and a council assembled to decide the fate of the emperor and the empire. The obsequious eloquence of those prevailed, who represented every doubt of victory as unworthy the majesty of the Roman monarch; and though certain intelligence was brought that Gratian was advancing by hasty marches, at the head of his victorious legions, to insure, by his junction, the success of the Gothick war, the evil genius of Valens, reinforced by the insidious advice of his lieutenants, pursued him; and he rushed with a blind impetuosity on death and destruction.

Leaving his baggage and military treasure under a strong guard, the emperor marched from Adrianople to attack the Goths, who were encamped about twelve miles distant. By some mistake, the right wing arrived in sight of the enemy a considerable time before the left; and the soldiers of the latter, in endeavouring to quicken their pace, were thrown into unavoidable confusion. The treachery of Fritigern, one of the emperor's lieutenants, forwarded the success of his countrymen the Goths; and in a short time the Imperial cavalry fled before the Gothick squadrons, while the Roman infantry, abandoned and surrounded on every side, was broken and cut to pieces. Valens, wounded and deserted by his guards, is said to have

A. D. 378.

been removed from the field of battle by a few faithful adherents to a neighbouring cottage, which, while they endeavoured to dress his wound, was set on fire by the enemy, and in it was consumed the emperor of the East. A boy, who escaped from a window, alone survived to inform the barbarians of the inestimable prize they had lost by their rash conflagration.

In this unfortunate battle, besides the emperor, two generals, two great officers of the palace, thirty-five tribunes, and two thirds of the Roman army, perished. The remainder was only saved by the approach of the night, and the calm courage of Victor and Richomer, amidst the general consternation.

The pride of the Goths was elated by their victory, but their avarice was disappointed by the obstinate resistance of Adrianople, in which the greatest part of the imperial wealth had been secured. At length, raising the siege, they poured into the suburbs of Constantinople; and while they gazed with admiration on the imperial capital of the East, a party of Saracens, in the Roman pay, rushing from one of the gates, put them to the rout. The Goths retiring, possessed themselves of the narrow pass of Succi in the defiles of Mount Hæmus, whence they gradually spread themselves as far as the confines of Italy and the Adriatick sea.

On the first reception of these barbarians into the empire, their sons had been distributed through the cities of the east. Those youths evincing a disposition, on the death of Valens, to deliver themselves from bondage, became the victims of an indiscriminate slaughter in every place where they resided; and by this cruel po-

licy the eastern empire was delivered from their machinations.

By the death of Valens, Gratian, exclusive of his share of the west, found himself possessed of the whole eastern empire; a burthen which his modesty taught him he was unable to bear, unassisted and alone. Indeed, from the description given us of the miserable state of the empire at this time, by contemporary authors, it is evident that a youth of twenty, and a child of ten years of age, must be incompetent to manage so mighty a machine, composed of such jarring and discordant elements. "The whole country," say they, "from Constantinople to the Italian Alps is wet with Roman blood. Scythia, Thrace, Macedonia, Dardania, Dacia, Thessaly, Achaia, Epiri, Dalmatia, Pannonia, and Gaul, swarm with Goths, Sarmatians, Quadi, Huns, Vandals, Franks, Germans, and Marcomans. Nothing has escaped their rapacity; all ranks and ages have suffered from their fury. How many eminent persons of eitheir sex, how many consecrated virgins, have undergone the most dreadful hardships as the preludes only of a hard captivity! Bishops have been massacred with their clergy; churches destroyed, and the most beautiful countries covered with ashes."

To aggravate those calamities, the Roman army, on the defeat of Valens, had in one day lost its bravest officers, and best-tried soldiers; while the enemy had gained additional confidence, and were inspired with fresh vigour to dare and to endure. Gratian, however, having gathered the wrecks of the forces together, united them with his own untouched legions, and thus opposed a barrier against the further progress of the barbarians.

But all his valour and all his activity would probably have been in vain, had he not been assisted by Theodosius, afterwards called The Great, whom he prevailed on to become his associate in the honours and toils of empire. It seems indeed that Gratian in this choice was willing to atone, in the person of the son, for the injustice suffered by Theodosius, the father, three years before. This illustrious general, after having subdued Britain, and by his victorious arms restored peace to Africa, perished on a scaffold at Carthage, a victim to his envious calumniators, who, under false accusations, had practised on the inexperience of the young emperor, and extorted a sentence of condemnation from him against one of his best friends. Theodosius, the younger, after his father's catastrophe, retired to Spain, where he lived in obscurity, at the time Gratian summoned him to share the throne of the East. It appears, that he was reluctantly drawn from the tranquil scenes of private life; but having once assumed the reins of empire, he managed them with energy and decision. Gratian having placed them in such able hands, returned towards the west, satisfied with his original government, but sent his brother Valentinian to Milan, under the guidance of his mother Justina. A. D. 379.

Under these emperors, religion was cherished, and its ministers obtained a very powerful influence in the state. Unfortunately, however, for the peace of mankind, and the credit of Christianity, both the princes and the ecclesiasticks were divided in their opinions. At the court of Gratian the Catholicks prevailed; at that

of Valentinian, a violent Arianism; and in the east, the department of Theodosius, the opposing sects were numerous: but the orthodoxy of the emperor during his reign, absorbed the whole of them. Indeed, to him belongs the glory of subduing the arian heresy, and abolishing the worship of idols in the Roman world. The orthodox faith of Theodosius was confirmed by an argument adapted to the meanest capacity. He had conferred the title of Augustus on his eldest son, Arcadius; and the two princes were seated on a throne to receive the homage of their subjects. Amphilochius, bishop of Icenium, approached Theodosius with reverence, but accosted his son with familiarity. The indignant monarch gave orders that the rustick prelate should be instantly driven from his presence; but while the guards were thrusting him out, the dexterous polemick exclaimed, "Such is the treat-"ment, O emperor! which the king of heaven has "prepared for those impious men who affect to "worship the Father, but refuse to acknowledge "the equal majesty of his divine Son!" Theodosius immediately embraced the bishop, and having by a solemn edict proclaimed his own faith, branded all who dissented from it with the appellation of hereticks. A council at Constantinople completed the theological system of Nice, and the edicts of the emperor denounced the severest penalties against all gainsayers: but these penal edicts were seldom enforced: Theodosius was too much a Christian to embrue his hands in the blood of his subjects, on account of their religious principles.

Before we resume the narrative of civil and military events, it seems proper to observe, that

about this period first appeared those hermits or anchorets, the forerunners of the monks, whose lives and functions varied, according to the times in which they lived.

These anchorets, panting with an earnest desire to attain perfection, retired into places remote from the dangerous temptations and corruptions of cities, and thus proved that they thought their virtue was vulnerable. More studious to avoid evil than to do good, they confined themselves to isolated regions, and allowed themselves no intercourse with their fellow-men beyond what the strictest necessity required. The caverns of the Thebais in Egypt received many of these; others fixed on spots less dreary, or united in communities, encouraging each other to virtue, by the force of reciprocal example, and lived under a common governor of their own election.

Of this latter description seem to have been those who led a recluse life in the vicinity of Constantinople, Antioch, and other large cities. Separated by voluntary seclusion from society, the duties which called them to the participation of the holy mysteries of religion in publick, kept up a communication between them and the people. From their exemplary life, it was natural to suppose they should be looked up to by the vulgar with awe and veneration; and to give currency to any opinion, it was necessary to gain over the chiefs of these recluses, who thus became formidable instruments, either for or against the government.

Whilst the bishops and other subordinate ministers of religion, used persuasion and exhortation against idolatry, the emperors and governors

in their edicts spared not the severer ones of prohibition. In all places the use of sacrifice was forbidden, the consecrated property was confiscated, and the hopes of the Pagans were extinguished by the demolition of the temples, many of which were the most beautiful and splendid monuments of Grecian architecture. Severe penalties proscribed the worship of any inanimate idol, and the majesty of Jupiter was degraded by a decree of the senate of Rome. If the statues of the gods were preserved, it was only by way of curiosity; and the parapharnalia of goddesses became the ornament of the Roman ladies. Such a revolution indeed took place in religion, that in a few years after the death of Theodosius not a vestige of Polytheism was visible to the eye of the legislator.

The early fame of Gratian was equal to that of the most celebrated princes. Before he had finished his twentieth year, he had endeared himself by his amiable disposition, affable manners, courage, and conduct, both to his soldiers, his friends, and his people. The succeeding years, however, of his reign undermined, in some degree, that reputation, the basis of which had been laid with so much care. While he acted by the advice of the faithful counsellors of his father, he was a pattern for princes; but when time or accident had removed those, he became the dupe of less able, but more pliant, ministers, who flattered his errors, or even created them. The guard of his person was intrusted to the Alani, and he participated in the rude and indecorous amusements of these barbarians; while the disgraceful spectacle filled the legions with grief and indignation.

The revolt of Maximus in Britain soon decided the fate of Gratian. This bold adventurer was a native of Spain; the countryman, the fellow-soldier, and the rival of Theodosius, whose elevation he had regarded with envy and resentment. The events of his life had long fixed him in Britain; and some say, that he had married a daughter of one of the principal persons in Caernarvonshire. However this may be, the soldiers in concert with the provincials, with a tumultuary but unanimous voice, proclaimed him emperor. He declares himself that he was compelled to assume the imperial purple; but the moment that he had violated his allegiance, he extended his ambition beyond the limits of Britain and prudently resolved to anticipate the designs of Gratian: he invaded Gaul with a powerful fleet and army, chiefly composed of Britons *; and the soldiers of Gratian instead of opposing his march, received him with joyful acclamations. Such disgust had the emperor given to his legionary soldiers, that his standard was almost universally deserted; and the unhappy Gratian fled towards Lyons with a feeble train of three hundred horse. He might still have reached in safety the dominions of his brother, had he not been deceived by the perfidious protestations of the governor of the province, who delayed his progress till the general of the cavalry of Maximus came up; when the emperor of the West was delivered into his hands, and instantly put to death, after a reign of eight

* This is the first recorded invasion of the Continent by the natives of this island. How many fatal ones have taken place since!

years, in the twenty-fifth year of his age. With him perished Mellobaudes, king of the Franks.

The rapid succession of events rendered it impossible for Theodosius to prevent the catastrophe of his benefactor; and he had scarcely time to concert his measures for revenging the death of Gratian, before an ambassador arrived from Maximus to justify his conduct, and to offer terms of accommodation. The conditions proposed were in the high tone of an independent sovereign, and not of an usurper. Maximus held out only the alternative of peace or war; and declared, that if his friendship and his claims were rejected, he was prepared to dispute in battle the empire of the world.

The voice of honour and of gratitude called aloud on Theodosius to retort defiance, but his situation suggested milder counsels. The assassin of Gratian possessed the most warlike provinces of the empire. The east was exhausted by the Gothick war; and the barbarians of the north menaced the very existence of the Roman name. These considerations induced Theodosius to accept the alliance of the tyrant; but he stipulated that Maximus should content himself with the countries beyond the Alps, and that Valentinian, the brother of Gratian, should be secured in the sovereignty of Italy, Africa, and the western Illyricum. This prince who was entirely under the guidance of his mother Justina, a zealous Arian and a favourer of that heresy, soon found himself embroiled with his catholick subjects, particularly with Ambrose, archbishop of Milan. Maximus, not ignorant of the religious squabbles which agitated his court, secretly meditated a design of turning

them to his own account, and of uniting Italy to his other dominions, in violation of the treaty he had just concluded.

That he might occupy without resistance the passes of the Alps, he pressed Dominus, the ambassador of Valentinian, to accept a considerable body of troops for the service of a Pannonian war. This dangerous offer was incautiously acceded to; and the march of the auxiliaries was directed by the ambassador in person. The artful Maximus, however, followed silently in the rear; and the appearance of his cavalry first announced his hostile intentions to the sovereign of Italy.

Justina and her son placed their only hopes in flight, and reached Aquileia in safety; but dreading the event of a siege, she resolved to throw herself on the powerful protection of Theodosius. Accordingly embarking with Valentinian, she landed at Thessalonica. Meanwhile the subjects of Valentinian readily submitted to the usurper and Maximus for a short time was undisputed ruler of the West.

Theodosius received his suppliants with affectionate concern, and instant preparations were made for checking the boundless ambition of Maximus, whose fate was decided in the short space of two months. The steady valour of the Gauls and Germans, in the pay of the usurper, was confounded by the dexterous evolutions of the cavalry of the Goths, the Huns, and the Alani. The tyrant himself appeared destitute of military skill and personal courage; his forces, under the conduct of his brother Marcellinus, were defeated in a sharp conflict on the banks of the Save; and Theo-

A. D. 388.

dosius pushed forward with such diligence into the campaign part of Italy, that Maximus had scarcely time to shut the gates of Aquileia against the victor.

The disaffection of that garrison hastened the downfal of the usurper, who, disrobed of the imperial ornaments, was conducted to the camp of Theodosius, and abandoned to the vengeance of the soldiers, who instantly beheaded him. His son Victor whom he had created Cæsar, underwent the same fate, and his brother Marcellinus had fallen in battle. To his wife and daughters, Theodosius showed the greatest clemency, and assigned them an honourable and independent fortune. No search was made after the adherents of Maximus; and the emperor of the East having annexed to the states of Valentinian those provinces which had been rescued from the usurper, after spending the winter at Milan, made his triumphal entry into Rome next spring, and then proceeded to Constantinople.

No sooner was he withdrawn, than the aspiring ministers of the humane but timid Valentinian began to domineer over their master. He was now, in a great measure, directed by Arbogastes, a Frank, whom the soldiers had raised, without the consent of the emperor, to the rank of general. This man had fought with zeal and success in the cause of Valentinian, during the revolt of Maximus; but his arrogance increasing with his services, and the facility of his master's disposition, he at last became insupportable. Still, however, the youthful emperor had not the courage to pronounce a dismissal to his insolent servant; but he threw him a paper, contain-

ing his discharge, and orders to retire. The haughty Arbogastes, having read it, replied, "My authority does not depend on the smile or "the frown of a monarch," and contemptuously tore the mandate. The indignant prince was with difficulty restrained from drawing his sword; and a few days after this quarrel, Valentinian was found strangled in his apartment. The crime of Arbogastes was represented to the world as the voluntary effect of the emperor's despair; his body was conducted to Milan, and his funeral oration pronounced by Ambrose, whom he had often opposed. Thus fell Valentinian the second, in the twentieth year of his age; alike regretted for the good he had done, as for that which was hoped from him in future. A. D. 391.

The artful Frank did not think proper to assume the purple himself, but invested with it Eugenius, who had originally been a teacher of grammar, afterwards of rhetorick; and at last had made his way to honour and distinction by his reputation for eloquence. This man Arbogastes had long favoured, and now made him the tool of his ambition, in promoting him to a dangerous throne, which he knew he could not hope to fill himself. By the directions of his patron, the new emperor sent ambassadors to Theodosius, who amused them with expressions of friendship, till he had time to prepare for war. Two years were thus spent on both sides in holding out the palm of peace, but at the same time exerting their mutual power to support their respective claims by force of arms. Eugenius, in order to strengthen his party, took the Pagans under his protection; and under his

auspices polytheism made its last struggle. The senate of Rome having supplicated him to restore the revenues to the temple, and to sanction their sacrifices, he politically granted their demands; and when Theodosius marched against him, the Christians, menaced with disgrace and persecution, put up their united prayers for his safety and success. Their vows and predictions were ably supported by the diligence of the imperial generals, Stilicho and Thomasius, and the different bands of Iberians, Arabs, and Goths, among the latter of whom was the renowned Alarick, who acquired the first knowledge of the art of war, under the standard of Theodosius.

Arbogastes, who ruled the western empire in the name of Eugenius, attempted not to defend the extent of a wide and vulnerable frontier; but fixed his station on the confines of Italy. Theodosius beheld with astonishment the camp of the Gauls and Germans, which occupied the country extending to Aquileia and the banks of the river Frigidus. Undismayed, however, by numerous obstacles, he began the attack, and placed in the front his barbarian allies, ten thousand of whom perished in the field, without making any impression on the camp of the enemy. Theodosius, under cover of the night retired to the adjacent hills, filled with the utmost disquietude; and the vigilant Arbogastes detached a line of troops to surround him. The next dawn discovered to Theodosius his danger and at the same instant dispelled his apprehensions. A friendly message from the leader of this detachment, expressed their inclination to desert the standard of the usurper.

With this unexpected reinforcement, Theodosius renewed his attack on the camp of his rival; and a violent tempest, which suddenly rose from the east, driving the dust in the faces of the enemy, seconded the efforts of the pious emperor. The superstition of the Gauls magnified the terrors of the storm; and they yielded without shame to the invisible powers of Heaven. The head of Eugenius was separated from his body, as he prostrated himself at the feet of Theodosius; and Arbogastes, by a voluntary death, escaped the mortification of yielding to the conqueror.

After the defeat of Eugenius, the Roman world acknowledged the sole authority of Theodosius, who made a lenient use of his victory, and instead of persecuting his pagan subjects who had embraced the cause of the late usurper, he endeavoured to open their eyes, and to withdraw them from their error. But though merciful to their persons, he destroyed, with the most determined zeal, every monument erected to false gods, whom he pursued into Egypt, their cradle,—into Greece, their empire,—and Rome, that universal temple where they were all assembled. And to show the superiority of the Christian religion over Paganism, his own example taught humility and forgiveness of injuries; though political necessity, on some occasions, obliged him to use or permit a rigour contrary to his natural disposition for clemency.

The inhabitants of Antioch having shown the grossest insult to the imperial family, after experiencing many marks of the favour of Theodosius, were sentenced to extirpation in a mo-

ment of wrath; but the bishop of Flavian interceding in their behalf, they obtained a free pardon, and the only sufferers were those who had been executed by the command of the governor, who took upon him to revenge his master's cause.

The massacre at Thessalonica, however, reflects little credit on the memory of the emperor of the East. The citizens having killed their governor, for refusing to release a charioteer who had attempted to violate a woman of quality, Theodosius was urged to send his soldiers against the place. What orders they received are unknown; but they entered the town sword in hand, and surrounding the people assembled at the Circensian games, slew upwards of seven thousand of them, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, and without discriminating the innocent from the guilty.

St. Ambrose, then bishop of Milan, having heard of this horrible execution, sent a monitory epistle to the emperor, and exhorted him to expiate his fault by sincere repentance. When Theodosius next visited Milan, he was proceeding as usual to the cathedral to assist in the celebration of the divine mysteries, but was repelled by the pontiff, who declared him excluded from the communion, till, by a publick penance, he had expiated so publick a crime. The emperor submitted, and returning to his palace in tears, performed with humility the offices prescribed by the canons of the church.

Theodosius died soon after at Milan of a dropsy, in the fiftieth year of his age, after a prosperous, and, on the whole, a glorious reign of sixteen years, leaving to his son, Arcadius,

the throne of Constantinople, and to Honorius the sceptre of the West. They had both, for some time, obtained the title of Augustus; though the former was only eighteen, and the latter no more than eleven, at their father's death.

CHAP. XXIV.

The Reigns of Arcadius and Honorius—Theodosius II. and Valentinian III.

A. D. 395. RUFINUS was appointed guardian or minister to Arcadius, and Stilicho to Honorius. If these two persons were not rivals under Theodosius, they soon became so through mutual jealousy of power under his sons, who, out of respect to their father's memory and virtues, were acknowledged by the unanimous consent of mankind, emperors of the East and West. Rufinus, by birth a Gascon, and whose character is stained with the imputation of every crime, had risen by the favour of Theodosius to the præfecture of the East. He possessed diligence and capacity; but pride, malice, and covetousness, tarnished all his valuable qualities. Stilicho, on the other hand, was of Vandal origin; and his strength and stature admirably fitted him for the profession of arms, in which he had attained a high rank, by his prudence and valour. A partner in the glory of Theodosius, which his conduct had often exalted, the dying monarch had recommended to him, with his last breath, the care of his sons, and of the republick. The person and court of Honorius, at Milan, readily acknowledged the ascendant of Stilicho; but he soon showed a desire of that superiority in the government of the East also,

which, he averred, had been destined for him by Theodosius, during the minority of his sons.

In order to defend himself against these pretensions, Rufinus projected marrying his daughter to his imperial pupil, convinced that the father-in-law of the emperor would have no competition to fear, and even stood a chance of being associated with his son-in-law in the purple. While he indulged these illusory hopes, Lucian, count of the East, having incurred the resentment of the emperor, by his disobedience to an unjust order, Arcadius committed his punishment to the revengeful Rufinus, the former patron of the accused, who, with a malignant joy, undertook a rapid journey from Constantinople to Antioch, of eight hundred miles, to see the vengeance, which he had prompted, executed on the unhappy offender. Without going through any of the customary forms of justice, Lucian was condemned by his inexorable persecutor to suffer death by torture; and no sooner had Rufinus perpetrated the inhuman act, than he returned with similar speed to Constantinople, in order to hasten the nuptials of his daughter, whom he intended to bestow on the emperor of the East.

But while the præfect was satiating his revenge at Antioch, a conspiracy of the subordinate ministers, directed by Eutropius, the great chamberlain, undermined his influence in the palace. Arcadius felt no partial attachment to the daughter of Rufinus, but listened with eager attention to the description, and gazed with rapture on the picture of Eudoxia, the daughter of Bauto, a general of the Franks, in the service of Rome, who, after the death of her father, had been

brought up in a family of distinction at Constantinople. The emperor had so carefully concealed his real designs, that the marriage procession set out as if to espouse the daughter of Rufinus, but when they came opposite the house where Eudoxia resided, it stopped all at once, and the principal eunuch entering, invested her with the imperial robes, and conducted her to the palace and arms of Arcadius.

The secrecy and success of this conspiracy fixed an indelible ridicule on the character of the minister, who was wounded to the very core by the frustration of his plans; but while he was converting his wealth to the support of his declining influence at the court of Constantinople, he was alarmed by the approach of a very formidable rival in the person of Stilicho, master-general of the empire of the West, who had undertaken to lead back the eastern troops that had been employed in the civil war against Eugenius.

In order to supplant this dreaded chief, and to render himself necessary to the emperor, Rufinus, by underhand practices, stirred up the Goths and Vandals to invade his dominions; and horrible were the excesses committed by these barbarians, under their leader Alarick. They passed over into Greece, which they ravaged without opposition; and though Stilicho offered to turn the forces which he commanded against them, Arcadius, in consequence of the insidious advice of Rufinus, forbade him to advance; and desired that the troops of the East, which he had united to his own, might be sent back. The prompt obedience of the general of the West evinced his loyalty to the world, but that his revenge might not sleep, he gave the charge of the borrowed legions to his intimate friend Gainas, a Goth.

On their approach to Constantinople, Arcadius came out to meet them, accompanied by his minister. The young emperor they received with acclamations, but on a signal given they fell upon Rufinus, and instantly dispatched him. His mangled body was abandoned to the brutal fury of the populace; but his wife and daughter were protected by a religious sanctuary, and permitted afterwards to spend their lives in a peaceful retirement at Jerusalem.

But though Stilicho gratified his revenge by the murder of his rival, his ambition was disappointed. The emperor Arcadius preferred the obsequious arts of the eunuch Eutropius, to the stern genius of a foreign warrior. The charms of Eudoxia, and the sword of Gainas, who had been prevailed on to accept the station of master-general of the East, till they were divided by jealousy, supported the authority of Eutropius: and, at a moment when union was most necessary, the subjects of Arcadius and Honorius were instructed by their respective masters to view each other in a hostile light.

The people, who had rejoiced at the death of Rufinus, soon found that they had gained nothing by the change. Eutropius was stained with all the vices of his predecessor in office, without possessing any of his engaging qualities. The old eunuch was cruel, deceitful, ungrateful, and consequently suspicious. He distrusted all whom he did not personally like, and particularly those who had been his benefactors. Stilicho, still animated with a desire of regulating the affairs of the East, and preventing their final ruin which he foresaw would involve the West, had returned to Greece to oppose the devastations of Ala-

rick in that country, Eutropius, as jealous of his preponderance as Rufinus had been, sent him an imperial mandate to forbear this officious attention and to retire; and that he might not offend by halves, he procured a decree to declare the minister of Honorius a traitor to the empire, and caused all his property in the East to be confiscated and sold.

The prudent Stilicho, instead of persisting to force the inclinations of Arcadius, left him to his unworthy favourites, and prepared to assist the majesty of the western empire by the punishment of Galdo the Moor. This man having been invested with the command of Africa, by Theodosius, had for twelve years exercised his tyranny over those unhappy provinces, and gradually usurped the administration of justice and of the finances, without account, and without control. Apprised of the designs of Stilicho against him, he addressed his homage to the feeble Arcadius, and the ministers of Constantinople took upon them to urge their ineffectual claim; while the general of the West, despising their interference, thought proper to oppose Mascezel, a younger brother of the tyrant of Africa, and a zealous Christian, to the power of that usurper. Mascezel, who had been obliged to fly for his life to the court of Milan, and whose innocent children had been murdered by their inhuman uncle, eagerly accepted the commission that was given him, in order to have an opportunity of revenging private as well as publick wrongs, and landing in Africa with a body of veteran troops, obtained almost a bloodless victory. Geldo, deserted by his troops, attempted to escape into the East; but being seized and

confined, avoided by a voluntary death the tortures which he had reason to expect from his incensed and victorious brother. Mascezel, however, did not long survive his victory: the court of Milan had received him at his return with affected applause but secret jealousy; and soon after in passing through a river, he was forcibly dismounted from his horse, and drowned.

The joy of Milan for the recovery of Africa, was succeeded by the marriage of Maria, the daughter of Stilicho, to her cousin Honorius, who was then only fourteen years of age. The consummation of the royal nuptials were, however, delayed by the frigidity or impotence of the emperor; and Maria died a virgin after being ten years a wife. It was soon discovered that Honorius was without talents and without passions. Amused with feeding poultry and similar avocations, he was content to slumber through life; and, during an eventful reign of twenty-eight years, it is scarcely necessary to mention his name. But the valour and abilities of the master-general, for a long time compensated for the incapacity and indolence of the monarch, and repelled the invasion of the barbarians, who now multiplied their attacks in all quarters.

The Goths, probably invited by the treachery of Rufinus, under the conduct of the renowned Alarick, had spread their devastations to the very walls of Constantinople. That celebrated leader had solicited the command of the Roman armies; but being rejected, he traversed the plains of Thessaly and Macedonia, deluged the fields of Phocis and Bœotia with his myriads of barbarians, and all Greece successively felt the terror of his arms.

The last hope of the people was now placed on Stilicho, who advanced to chastise the invaders of Greece. The mountainous country of Arcadia, was long the theatre of a doubtful contest between the two generals; but the skill of the Romans prevailed; and the Goths were at last surrounded by a strong line of circumvallation. Stilicho, confident of victory, had retired from the scene of action, to enjoy the theatrical games of the Greeks, where he received the mortifying intelligence, that Alarick, by equal resolution and address, had escaped with his forces into the dominions of the emperor of the East, and concluded a treaty with his ministers, by which he was recognized master-general of Illyricum.

A. D. 397.

Stilicho immediately withdrew, and the fatal enemy of Rome, by virtue of his office, obtained the power and watched for the occasion of enriching his soldiers with the accumulated spoils of Rome.

Reinforcing his army with fresh hordes of barbarians, Alarick penetrated into Italy, and approached the palace of Milan before the emperor was sensible of his danger. Stilicho endeavoured to animate the resolution of Honorius to hold out; and ascending the Alps in the midst of winter, summoned to the defence of Italy the most remote troops of the West—even the legion which had been placed to guard the wall of Britain, was hastily recalled.

During the absence of Stilicho, the Goths advanced with such impetuosity, that Honorius was obliged to fly, and at last took shelter within the fortification of Asta, a town of Liguria. Alarick instantly formed the siege of that place;

and it is probable would have soon forced the emperor of the West to the disgrace of a capitulation, had not the return of his master-general, with numerous forces, saved him. Stilicho cut his way through the Gothick camp under the walls of Asta; in consequence of which, the chiefs of the Gothick nation were inclined to retreat; but the intrepid Alarick declared he was resolved to find in Italy, either a kingdom or a grave.

The Goths afterwards pitching their camp in the vicinity of Pollentia, were surprised by the vigilance of Stilicho, while they were celebrating the festival of Easter. Several thousands were slain, and among the captives was the wife of Alarick, who was compelled to implore the clemency of the victor. A. D. 403.

In this battle Alarick lost the greatest part of his infantry, but he escaped with his cavalry entire and unbroken; and pressed towards the gates of Rome. The capital was saved by the diligence of Stilicho, who, respecting the despair of his enemy, purchased the retreat of the barbarians. Alarick, however, with a characteristick want of faith, attempting to occupy the city of Verona, found his intentions betrayed, and after suffering another signal defeat, escaped only by the fleetness of his horse.

The provinces being now delivered from the invasion of Alarick, Honorius celebrated his victories in the imperial city; and on this occasion, for the last time, the inhuman combats of gladiators polluted the amphitheatre of Rome. But amidst the acclamations of triumph, the emperor of the West was not insensible of future danger from the defenceless situation of his pa-

face at Milan, and therefore, to provide against the worst, he fixed on the strong fortress of Ravenna for the imperial residence. His example was followed by his feeble successors; and till the middle of the eighth century, this was considered as the capital of Italy.

The retreat of Alarick did not long secure peace to the distracted empire. Radagaisus soon entered Italy with a formidable body of Huns, but was taken prisoner, and put to death by Stilicho. Isaurian robbers ravaged the East, and the Alans entered Gaul. Palestine was ravaged by clouds of locusts; Asia desolated by earthquakes; and Constantine, a common soldier, being raised by his comrades to the throne of Britain, extended his empire beyond the seas.

During these disturbances and disasters, Arcadius, the emperor of the East, departed this life in the thirty-first year of his age, leaving his throne to a son named Theodosius, who was still an infant. The reign of Arcadius had been turbulent throughout. Gainas, who, as has been already mentioned, had taken off Rufinus, at last supplanted Eutropius his own patron, and even attempted to render himself independent, by seizing on Constantinople. Repulsed, however, by the inhabitants, he carried fire and sword into Thrace; but being attacked by Fravitus, who routed his army, perished in battle.

This combination of various circumstances would appear to have been propitious to Stilicho: he was father-in-law to Honorius; married to his aunt, a great minister and an able general; with a son already arrived at an age to second him in any enterprise. The usurper Constantine had invaded Gaul, and carried his conquests even into

Spain; Alarick still menaced Italy; and the government of the East had devolved on a child. These united considerations pointed out the propriety of raising such a man as Stilicho to be an associate in the empire; but though Honorius had often experienced his services, which had more than once saved him from captivity and death, he forgot to reward them. The general of the West, on the other hand, had offended the legionary soldiers, by the partiality he showed to barbarian recruits, and his enemies taking hold of this plea, endeavoured to persuade the weak Honorius that his father-in-law held a correspondence with Alarick from interested or ambitious motives. Every engine was played off to render Stilicho an object of suspicion to the emperor, as he long had been an object of fear to the courtiers; and, at last, an order was extorted from the ungrateful Honorius for his execution. The ministers of blood pursued the unfortunate general, who, after repressing the ineffectual zeal of his followers, submitted his neck to the sword with manly resignation. His friends and relations were involved in his fate: the flight of his son Eucherius was intercepted, and he was soon after slain; and his daughter Thermantia, who had succeeded her sister Maria, as another virgin empress, was divorced. Among the adherents of Stilicho was Claudian, who has immortalised the martial deeds of his patron, and who, by suppliant condescention, escaped the danger that menaced him. A. D. 408.

Though the foreign auxiliaries, who had been attached to the person of Stilicho, lamented his

fate, yet the desire of revenge for his death was checked by an apprehension for their wives and children, who were detained as hostages in the strong cities of Italy. The absurd and execrable cruelty of Olympius, who succeeded the martial Stilicho, involved in one promiscuous slaughter these pledges for the fidelity of the barbarians in the imperial pay; who now came to avenge, by implacable hostility, this base violation of the laws of honour and humanity. To Alarick they cast a look of hope, and, like a wise politician, he received their proffered services, and then submitted to Honorius the alternative of peace, or the payment of a stipulated sum. That he might hasten the deliberations to which this proposal gave rise, he laid siege
A. D. 408. to Rome, which he reduced to the most dreadful extremity. His request being acceded to, he retired. But some delay taking place in regard to the payment of four thousand pounds of gold, he returned again and invested the ancient mistress of the world.

During the long period of six hundred and nineteen years the seat of empire had never before been violated by the presence of a foreign enemy. The population at this time might amount to twelve hundred thousand men; but the nobles were totally sunk in luxury and effeminacy, and the populace, vile and wretched, had been continually recruited by the manumission of slaves, or the influx of foreigners. In such a state of universal degeneracy, the Romans were rather disposed to negociate than to fight; and therefore received as emperor Attalus, the præfect of the city, who was obtruded

on them by Alarick. With this sovereign of his own creation, the king of the Goths entered into a treaty, and once more raised the siege.

Attalus, thus elevated to supreme power, and finding Alarick withdrawn, no longer considered himself as the creature of another's will, but changing his sentiments with his condition, presumed to impose terms on Honorius, with which that feeble prince was on the point of complying, when his nephew Theodosius, arrived opportunely to his assistance. Arcadius had assigned the guardianship of his son to Anthenius, a great statesman, and a person of integrity; and by his suggestions, reinforced with the succours he had received, Honorius recalled the offer which he had made to Attalus of being associated in the empire, and which the upstart had haughtily rejected. Attalus indeed was so intoxicated with his slippery grandeur, that he even presumed to quarrel with his protector, who soon deposed him from his power, but refused to deliver him up to Honorius.

Having more than once tasted the sweets of exaction, Alarick rose in his demands, in proportion to the concessions that were made to him. Rome was still the prize in dispute, and to rescue it from pillage, bribes, which only whetted barbarick avarice, and not arms, were resorted to. Honorius was dilatory in fulfilling his promises, and Alarick was active to enforce them. While these were parleying, famine had made the most dreadful ravages in Rome. War had prevented the cultivation of the lands; and the ports being blocked up, the citizens were reduced to indescribable distress. Human flesh was publicly sold: and mothers, shocking to re-

late! are said to have prolonged life by devouring their own offspring. Those miseries, however, great and complicated as they appear, were only a prelude to the siege, or rather to those horrors which quickly ensued. The citizens, reduced to this dreadful state, would have been incapable of a long defence; but conspiracy shortened the siege, and brought on the crisis. The Salarian gate was opened at midnight in a moment of despair, and the imperial city was abandoned to the licentious fury of the tribes of Germany and Scythia. "All the riches "of the world," said Alarick to his soldiers on entering the gate, "are here con- "centered: to you I abandon them; but I com- "mand you to spill the blood of none but the "armed, and to spare such as take refuge in the "churches."

A. D. 410.

The pillage lasted, according to the most authentick accounts, six days. The Goths fired the town in various places, and many of the most splendid edifices were levelled with the ground. It is not possible to compute the numbers that were massacred, notwithstanding the prohibition of Alarick, nor the multitudes that were reduced from an honourable station and affluent fortune to the miserable condition of captives and exiles. Rome, the proud and magnificent capital of the universe, which, for eleven hundred and sixty-three years, had stretched the arms of her power from one end of the earth to another, and had become rich by the spoils of vanquished nations, now fell a prey to a barbarian, who had not a foot of land he could call his own. The fate she had inflicted, she now suffered; and felt, in her turn, the calamities which she had

caused so many other nations and cities to endure.

After Alarick had glutted his army with the spoils of Rome, he evacuated that city; and taking with him his captives and his wealth into Campania, he increased both by the plunder of Apulia, Lucania, and Calabria. With an ardour which could neither be quelled by adversity, nor satiated by success, he had scarcely reached the extremity of Italy, when his desires were attracted by the inviting prospect of Sicily, and he thence extended his hopes to Africa. All his designs, however, were prevented by a premature death, which, after a short illness, fixed the fatal term of his conquests.

The ferocious character of the barbarians was displayed in the funeral of this hero. By the labour of a captive multitude they diverted the course of the Busentius, a small river that washes the walls of Consentia: the royal sepulchre, adorned with the spoils and trophies of Rome, was constructed in the vacant bed; and the stream being suffered to return to its natural channel, the secret spot was concealed by the inhuman massacre of the prisoners who had been employed in the work. The Goths immediately raised to the sovereignty the valiant Adolphus, brother-in-law to their deceased monarch.

After contemplating Rome in flames and floating in blood, its treasures spoiled, and its surviving inhabitants dragged into captivity, or seeking liberty in exile, let us take a rapid view of the whole empire, and observe in what manner this vast colossus was destroyed, and its members divided.

It has been previously mentioned, that Constantine, a common soldier, being invested with the purple in Britain, had extended his empire over the Gauls. His son Constans, who had been brought up in a monastery, was created Cæsar, and, after bringing Spain under his father's subjection, he was raised by him to the dignity of Augustus. At the time when Honorius was hard pressed by Alarick, their usurpation was acknowledged, and Constantine entered Italy under pretence of assisting the emperor, but in fact to appropriate some portion of the general wreck. In this project he was seconded by the treachery of Altabucius, one of the generals of Honorius, which being discovered, and its author punished, Constantine was obliged to retreat. The defence of Vienna he committed to his son Constans, who had been driven out of Spain by Geroncius the Spanish leader, and soon after lost his head, while the father was blockaded in Arles.

Honorius during the siege, sent an able general named Constantius, against him, who seduced his troops, and forced Geroncius himself to fly into Spain, where he was soon after assassinated. Maximus, a shadow of an emperor, who had been raised to that dignity by the late usurper, was taken by Constantius, who spared his life. The same general obliged Arles to surrender to the arms of Honorius. The principal article of the capitulation was, that the lives of Constantine and his brother Julian should be spared: they afterwards entered into holy orders that they might avoid being the objects of future suspicion; but even this prudent humility did not save them; for, in violation of

the faith of treaties, Honorius caused them to be put to death.

This was the age of usurpers, and no sooner was one quelled, than another rose to supply his place, and sometimes several appeared upon the stage at once. Jovinus, descended from an honourable family among the Gauls, under the protection of Adolphus, the successor of Alarick, and some other princes among the barbarians, caused himself to be proclaimed emperor, and associated with him his brother Sebastian. His career was soon terminated by his imprudent offence to his principal patron, who put Sebastian to death, and sold Jovinus to the emperor for a certain quantity of wheat, of which his army stood in need. Heraclianus, another usurper, assumed the purple in Africa, and after venturing to brave Honorius in Italy, was driven back to his first station, where his soldiers, eager to obtain the price set upon his head, soon after dispatched him.

Adolphus, who had acted a principal part in all these revolutions, had for some time taken upon him the character of a Roman general, and his attachment to the cause of Honorius was now secured by the ascendant which a Roman princess had obtained over his heart. Placidia, the daughter of the great Theodosius, and of Galla, his second wife, was about twenty years of age, and resided in Rome when that city fell under the arms of Alarick. The barbarians detained the sister of Honorius, but their treatment of her was decent and respectful; while her youth, elegant manners, and suavity of disposition, made an indelible impression on the

heart of Alolphus. The king of the Goths made overtures of marriage to the court of Honorius, but met with a disdainful repulse. Placidia, however, yielded herself without reluctance to her lover, who was young and valiant; and their nuptials were consummated at Narbonne. The provincials rejoiced in an alliance which tempered, by the mild influence of love, the fierce spirit of their Gothick lord. Attalus, who had so long been the sport of fortune, assisted at the ceremony, and led the chorus of the hymeneal song, which it seems was of his own composing; and was once more invested with the purple by the bridegroom, who wished to intimidate his brother-in-law, and force him to a durable treaty of peace. After experiencing other vicissitudes, Attalus was at length confined in the Lipari islands, where he led a life of tranquillity. His right hand was cut off to prevent his writing, but on what account is not ascertained: he was a man better calculated for pleasure than business, and appears to have escaped so many dangers by his known native want of ambition.

His patron Adolphus, after having restored Gaul to the obedience of Honorius, turned his arms against the barbarians of Spain, but fell by a domestick treason in the palace of Barcelona, when Sengerick was seated on the Gothick throne. The first act of the new reign was to murder the six children of Adolphus by a former marriage; and the daughter of Theodosius was compelled to walk more than twelve miles before the horse of a barbarian, the assassin of her husband. Placidia, however, soon had her revenge: the tyrant was taken off on the

A. D. 415.

seventh day of his usurpation; and Wallia obtained the sceptre, by the free choice of his Gothick followers.

The widow of Adolphus was soon after obliged by Honorious to resign her person to his general Constantius; and from this forced marriage a son was born named Valentinian. Constantius was associated in the empire; but enjoyed this honour only seven months, when he died a natural death, without ever having been acknowledged by Theodosius, the emperor of the East.

This young prince governed under the tuition of his sister Pulcheria, who, with the approbation of the minister Anthemius, took the reins of empire into her hands; and though only sixteen years of age, evinced a great capacity for rule. She was equally mistress of the court and the state; and by her influence over her brother, she caused the eunuch Antiochus, who was obnoxious to her, to be dismissed. Still further to strengthen and consolidate her power, she looked out for a wife for the young emperor, in hopes that the person whom she raised to this honour, would be always devoted to the interest of her benefactress. Chance presented her with the opportunity she wished. Athenais, the daughter of the Athenian philosopher Leontius, by whom she had been educated with uncommon care, on the death of her father was deprived by her brothers of her just share of the inheritance; and, in consequence of the reputation for justice, which Pulcheria had gained through the whole empire, the Athenian maiden came to claim the interference and protection of that princess at Constantinople. Her sense and her merit pleased

Pulcheria, and her charms, though she was twenty-eight years of age, inflamed the heart of Theodosius. Being prevailed on to renounce the errors of paganism, she was baptized by the name of Eudocia, and soon after conducted to the emperor's bed.

A. D. 421. Neither her elevation nor the injuries she had received could prevent the current of natural affection: she raised to the rank of consuls and præfects, those brothers who had so much reason to dread her resentment; nor amidst the luxury of a palace did she neglect those studious acquisitions which had contributed to her rise. Her writings, which were applauded by a servile age, have not been disdained by impartial criticism; but her glories were terminated by an ungrateful competition for power with her patroness; and the affections of Theodosius being also lost, she requested and obtained permission to retire to Jerusalem. The remainder of her life was spent in exile and devotion; and with her last breath she protested that she had never been guilty of infidelity, the imputation of which seems first to have alienated from her the regard of Theodosius.

While the empire of the East was solely under the direction of women, that of the West was no less so from the ascendancy which Placidia maintained over Honorius. Such was the affection that subsisted between them, that it was supposed by some to originate from improper motives, and to be carried to an impure excess. These malignant insinuations reaching the ears of the parties, destroyed their cordiality, and induced Placidia to retire to Constantinople.

While she sojourned there with her son Valentinian, Honorius died of a dropsy, after a reign of twenty-eight years, pregnant with great events, some of which reflect immortal honour on his generals, but scarcely one of them on the emperor himself. A. D. 423.

It should be observed, that the regular forces being gradually withdrawn from Britain, under the reign of Honorius, in order to repel the Goths and other enemies of the empire, that island became wholly independent of the Roman power; and the claims of allegiance and protection, were succeeded by the mutual offices of national friendship. During a period of forty years, till the descent of the Saxons, Britain was ruled by the authority of the clergy, the nobles, and the municipal towns. A. D. 409.

While the ministers of the East were deliberating, the vacant throne of the West was usurped by John, an imperial secretary, supported by Aetius, a very able general, who undertook to engage the Huns to act against Theodosius, should he refuse to acknowledge the tool of his own ambition. But the emperor of the east anticipated the designs of Aetius, and sent his aunt Placidia into the west with her son Valentinian, whom he invested with the supreme authority, at the age of six years, under the regency of his mother. To support their claims, they were accompanied by an army, commanded by Ardaburius and his son Aspar. The father sent his son with the cavalry by land, and himself embarked with the infantry. A dreadful tempest dispersed the fleet; and the vessel which carried Ardaburius was wrecked on the coast. He was taken and conducted to John at Ra-

venna, who gave him a friendly reception, and allowed him the full liberty of the town. His impolitick indulgence was rewarded by the prisoner sending intelligence to his son Aspar, that the soldiers of John were not well affected to their master's cause, and desiring him to hasten with his troops to Ravenna.

On arriving there, Aspar found the gates open, seized upon the usurper, and sent him to Placidia, who caused his head to be cut off. Aetius, who was advancing with a formidable army of Germans to the assistance of John, being informed of the catastrophe, prudently determined to make his submission: he was again received into favour, and constituted commander of a great part of the troops of the empire. But Aetius was not of a disposition to be satisfied with divided power. He saw with jealous and malignant eyes the estimation in which Boniface, an officer commendable both for his virtue and abilities, was regarded at the court of Valentinian III. Boniface indeed had displayed the most consummate talents in Africa, which he not only defended against the attacks of the usurper John, but introduced there an order and regularity which had been long unknown before. The empress Placidia estimated the fidelity of Boniface as it deserved; but the insidious Aetius insinuated to his royal mistress every thing unfavourable to the character and views of his rival; and, like a double traitor as he was, privately informed Boniface, that the empress had laid a plot for his destruction; and, to obtain her ends, would shortly recal him from his government. Thus prepossessed, the unfortunate Boniface refused to obey the im-

perial mandate; and Placidia, now no longer doubting the truth of the insinuations of Aetius, caused him to be declared an enemy to the state; whilst his rival was appointed generalissimo of all the troops of the empire.

Boniface defeated the first army that was sent against him; but distrusting his strength to cope singly with his enemies, called in the assistance of Genserick, king of the Vandals. The principal condition of the treaty was, that they should divide Africa betwixt them. Full of this agreeable prospect, Genserick quitted Spain, accompanied with his whole community of men, women, and children. While the Vandals were occupying entire provinces, some friends of Boniface, amazed at his association with the barbarians, whom they knew he did not love, and unable to account for the cause, obtained leave from Placidia to proceed and interrogate him as to the motives of his treason. Boniface immediately showed them the letter he had received from Aetius, and assured them that nothing but self-defence would have driven him to such extremities. His friends being intrusted with this voucher, exhibited it on their return to the empress; but Aetius being at that time triumphant in Gaul, it was judged prudent to dissemble with him, and wait for a more favourable opportunity of exposing and punishing his treachery.

Placidia, however, addressed Boniface in terms of the highest confidence and amity, and entreated him to use his best endeavours to free Africa from the Vandals. The general heartily adopted the views of the empress, and offered Genserick considerable sums if he would retreat; but the Vandals having taken possession of the

whole country, excepting only three cities, of which Carthage was one, the proposals were treated with insult: the few remaining Roman soldiers were cut to pieces; and Boniface shut up in Carthage. There he maintained himself upwards of a year; but at length was compelled to surrender, and had the mortification to behold all Africa, which he had once saved, ravaged in the most cruel manner by the barbarians whom he had invited thither.

On his arrival at the court of Ravenna, Boniface, notwithstanding what had happened, was received with the highest marks of distinction, and honoured with the command of an army; a circumstance which convinced Aetius that his duplicity and perfidy were discovered. The command given to his rival, he construed into an unjust derogation from his own dignity; and, forgetful of their common allegiance, the two generals soon after took the field to support their mutual pretensions. In the battle which ensued, Boniface received a wound, of which he died a few days after; and Aetius retired among the Huns, from whence he returned at the head of an army to dictate to his sovereign. Placidia found it politick to make her peace with him, by receiving him at court, and restoring him to the dignities he had formerly enjoyed. Africa, however, was only partially recovered from the Vandals; and eight years after the defeat of Boniface, Genserick, surprised and took Carthage, under the protestations of friendship.

A. D. 439. About this period the empress had the satisfaction of marrying her son Valentinian to Eudoxia, the daughter of Theodosius; but almost at the same moment expe-

rienced one of the severest trials a virtuous mother can feel. Her daughter Honoria, though only sixteen years of age, was strongly suspected of an illicit connexion with one of her own domesticks: and it was likewise discovered that, no less intriguing than amorous, she maintained a secret correspondence with Attila, king of the Huns, to whom she had transmitted a ring as a pledge of her sincerity; and invited him to claim her as his spouse, at the head of his army. In consequence of those flagrant indiscretions, she was removed from the court of the West, which she had disgraced, to Constantinople, where the royal family of the East were in similar agitation by the disputes between Pulcheria and the empress Eudocia, which have already been noticed; and the suspicious jealousy of her husband, that terminated, at last, in a separation.

To these domestick vexations, which Theodosius was doomed to undergo, were superadded many external ills which pressed upon one another in close succession. The eastern empire, during this whole reign, was incessantly attacked and distressed by the different tribes of barbarians, who were labouring, by reiterated efforts, to annihilate the feeble remains of Roman power. A contemporary author of reputation has thus characterized the savage hordes, who were now become too powerful to be resisted, and too numerous to be destroyed:—"The Goths," says he, "are deceitful, but their morals are pure; the Alans are less chaste, but more honest; the Franks are cunning, lying, and perfidious, and even perjury is regarded among them as a venial offence; the Saxons are

obdurate, but abhor intemperance or excess; the Gepidæ are cruel; the Huns artful and dissolute; and the Germans drunken. These vices," adds our author, "are much less criminal among the barbarians than with the Romans, who are instructed in the laws of christian morality. Yet these cannot exist without haunts of debauchery; while those who are not allowed to frequent them personally, permit them on account of the Romans, who have established their religion among them."

Among such of these nations, thus described, as still exist, the philosophick eye will still recognize too much truth in the original picture, compared with the copy in their descendants. The evil habits and vices of their ancestors adhere, in a great measure, to posterity.

To the restraints of religion, which are generally disregarded where morals are neglected, Theodosius added those of the laws, by a collection which was called the Theodosian code. This system of jurisprudence soon ceased to operate in the east, but it was generally adopted by the Goths, Franks, Germans, and other barbarians, who conquered Spain, Italy, and Gaul. In fact, the descendants of the Romans, a people who had once carried the terror of their name over the whole world, now began to crouch before the hordes of barbarians, who poured in successive myriads from the north over the finest countries on earth.

Attila, who has been denominated "the Scourge of God," was the most formidable enemy of Theodosius. This prince succeeded to the throne of the Huns on the death of his father Mundzuk, and soon extended his empire from

the Danube to the Wolga. When he mustered his forces, they frequently amounted to more than half a million of men; and, as in the state to which the eastern empire was reduced, resistance would have been vain against such a mighty host of warlike barbarians, the emperor was glad to purchase short and precarious truces, by gratifying the avarice of the king of the Huns. On the least real or affected displeasure shown by Attila, he received embassies of supplication to deprecate his wrath; and when he wished to extort money, for his own use, or to enrich his courtiers, he generally charged some of his most faithful friends with commissions to the Byzantine court, from whence they were sure to return laden with spoils.

To Attila, whose features bore the stamp of his savage origin, and exhibited the genuine deformity of a modern Calmuck, Theodosius made the most disgraceful concessions; yet every new compliance paved the way for another, till the barbarous chief of the Huns seems to have been tired of the insipid trade of extortion unresisted, and wished to find a foe worthy of contending with. But before the further schemes of Attila were ripe for execution, and amidst the anxieties he occasioned at the court of Constantinople, Theodosius died of a fall from his horse, at the age of fifty years, after having reigned forty-two. The only part of his character for which he is advantageously known, is that of being very pious. He seems to have had good inclinations, but indolence or inaptitude for business, rendered his inherent virtues of little avail to his people. His sister, Pulcheria, had divided the empire with him; and, excepting the title, he

delegated to her the other half, as he left her the whole power, which, had she been as ill-disposed as his ministers frequently were, she might have converted to his destruction, and the total ruin of his people. But though Pulcheria was fond of power, she does not appear to have been inclined to abuse it. The blind confidence of the emperor in his ministers, and even in herself, she forcibly exposed, by presenting him one day an act to sign, in virtue of which he was to deliver the empress Eudocia for her slave. The negligent Theodosius signed without reading the paper; and when he had so done, his sister, to his shame and confusion, made him sensible of the danger of his inconsiderate conduct, by expatiating on the danger to which it might lead.

By the death of Theodosius, Pulcheria remained sole mistress of the empire, and her abilities certainly were as equal to the task of governing as most of her predecessors of the other sex; but as there had been no precedent for a woman reigning alone, she resolved on marrying, notwithstanding the vow of perpetual virginity which she had made. Her choice fell on Marcian, whom she accepted, on condition that he would never claim any conjugal rights, and invested him with the imperial purple. The new emperor, at this time, was about sixty years old, and his empress fifty. He was a native of Thrace, and in his youth had been severely exercised in poverty and misfortune. By gradual steps he had risen from the ranks of the army to be a tribune and senator; and his own example gave weight to the laws which he promulgated for the reformation of manners. Valentinian, who might have claimed

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the empire of the East in right of his wife, who was the daughter of Theodosius, approved of the elevation of Marcian, and acknowledged him as emperor. The dominions he already possessed were too extensive for his limited capacity to govern; and he wisely checked the vain ambition of useless or dangerous accessions of power and territory.

To the imperious demands of Attila, the husband of Pulcheria replied with temperate courage. He signified to the barbarians, that they must no longer insult the majesty of Rome by the mention of a tribute; and that if they presumed to violate the publick peace, they should feel that he possessed troops and arms to repel their aggressions. Attila menaced, and saluted the two sovereigns of the eastern and western empires with this haughty declaration:—"Attila, *my* lord and *thy* lord, commands thee to provide a palace for his instant reception." But the barbarian, affecting to despise the Romans of the east, whom he had already plundered sufficiently, turned his arms towards the west, where the sceptre vibrated in the feeble hands of Valentinian, who had just lost his mother Placidia, and with her his best defence.

Scarcely were her eyes closed, before Attila dispatched a messenger to the emperor of the West, demanding his sister Honoria in marriage; and to substantiate his claim, he showed the ring which the princess had sent him, demanding half the empire for her portion. Valentinian extricated himself from the present difficulty by a sum of gold, and averted this scourge from Italy, which already impended over Gaul, where Aetius commanded. Seven hundred thousand

combatants, who swelled the army of Attila, were defeated in the plains of Catalaunum; yet still the king of the Huns had sufficient force remaining, to render himself formidable in Italy, whither he retired, sacking the cities, and desolating the country. Thither Aetius pursued him; and partly by his power, and partly by his address, induced him to return once more to Gaul, where he experienced a second defeat from Thorismond, king of the Visigoths. In his recent invasion of Italy, his progress was marked with such terror and dismay, that the inhabitants of the Venetian cities left them defenceless to the foe, and sought refuge in the little islands on the coast. Thus Attila, whose ferocious pride boasted, that the grass never grew where his horse trod, undesignedly laid the foundation of a republick, which revived in Europe the art and spirit of commercial industry; and only sunk under a power, as formidable as that which had contributed to raise it.

Attila still persisted in demanding Honoria to wife; but his attachment to her did not prevent him from adding a beautiful maid named Idlico, to the long list of his queens. The marriage was celebrated at his palace beyond the Danube; the king retired from the banquet to the nuptial bed; and his attendants on entering the royal apartment next morning, found that Attila had burst a blood-vessel during the night, and was suffocated with the effusion. His funeral, like that of Alarick, was celebrated with savage pomp. His body was enclosed in three coffins, of gold, of silver, and of iron: the spoils of plundered nations were thrown into the grave; and the captives

A. D. 453.

who had opened the ground were inhumanly massacred. The death of this warrior, who had never suffered mankind to enjoy any repose, and had never enjoyed any himself, was attended with the destruction of his empire. His sons disputed for the sovereignty; and after various turns of fortune, the youngest retired with his subject hordes into the heart of the Lesser Scythia, where they were soon overwhelmed by a torrent of new barbarians. Aetius did not long survive the Scythian monarch. The mind of Valentinian, though insensible to glory, was easily impressed with distrust and jealousy; and his new favourite, the eunuch Heraclius, readily persuaded him to undermine, in the life of his general, the support of his throne. Gaudentius, the son of Aetius, was contracted to Eudoxia, the emperor's daughter: the indiscreet behaviour of the father offended his sovereign; and while he urged with intemperate violence the proposed marriage, Valentinian, drawing his sword, plunged it in the bosom of Aetius. The servile eunuchs followed his example; and the general, who, with all his faults, had more than once saved the empire, fell in the presence of his ungrateful master, pierced by innumerable wounds. The unsuspecting friends of Aetius being summoned to the palace, were separately murdered; and the contempt which had long been entertained for Valentinian, was now converted into abhorrence.

The feeble disposition of the emperor of the West, would probably have rendered him an easy prey to the first usurper; but his vices precipitated his ruin; and he became the immediate victim to the just revenge of a noble and injured

subject. The wife of Petronius Maximus, a wealthy senator of the Anician family, had inspired Valentinian with impure desires: her resistance served only to inflame his passions; and he resolved to gratify them either by stratagem or force. Maximus had delivered his ring to the emperor as a pledge for a considerable sum lost at play; the emperor sent it by a confidential messenger to his wife, desiring her, in the name of her husband, to attend the empress Eudoxia. The unsuspecting matron having entered the imperial palace, Valentinian violated, without remorse, both the laws of hospitality and of honour. Her tears on her return to her own house, betrayed the guilty secret to Maximus; and her reproaches inflamed his desire of vengeance. Two barbarians, attached to the memory of Aetius, were admitted among the guards of the tyrant, and presented themselves as the ready ministers of revenge; they rushed upon Valentinian in the field of Mars, and without opposition from his numerous train, dispatched him and his favourite Heraclius. Such was the merited end of a prince who, during a reign of thirty years, was neither loved, respected, nor feared.

A. D. 455.

CHAP. XXV.

From the death of Valentinian III. to the Extinction of the Western Empire.

SO rapid was the succession of sovereigns, and so numerous the events that intervened between the death of Valentinian and the final subversion of the western empire, that we must endeavour to generalize our narration, in order to embrace the variety of circumstances connected with the subject.

No sooner was Valentinian taken off, than Petronius Maximus, who had been the instigator of his murder, was saluted emperor by the senate. His short reign of three months was embittered by remorse and guilt; and when he accepted the purple, he relinquished for ever that happiness which had so eminently distinguished his private life. Policy sanctioned the marriage of his son Palladius with the eldest daughter of the late emperor; and on the opportune death of his own wife, that he might, in some measure, retaliate the injury he had received, he forced the empress Eudoxia to his arms. Being certified, from his own indiscreet confession, that he was the assassin of her deceased husband, she regarded the usurper with abhorrence; and hopeless of assistance from the east, as the forces of Marcian, who had now lost Pulcheria, were otherwise employed, she secretly implored the aid of the king of the Vandals, to rescue her from worse than captivity. Genserick eagerly embraced this fair

opportunity of disguising his rapacious designs, under the specious names of justice and compassion, and equipping a numerous fleet of Moors and Vandals, after a favourable voyage cast anchor at the mouth of the Tiber.

Though Maximus was respectable in private life, his abilities were not equal to the support of a sinking empire, and the approach of the Vandals seemed to stupify and confound him. Instead of opposing the enemy, he recommended the disgraceful measure of a precipitate retreat; but no sooner did he appear in the streets, than he was assaulted by a shower of stones, and a torrent of abuse, while the sword of one of his soldiers avenged the death of Valentinian, and the wrongs of Eudoxia, and terminated the misery of a feeble and transient reign.

In a few days Genserick advanced to the gates of the defenceless capital, when the intercession and eloquence of Leo, the bishop of Rome, prevailed on the Vandal to spare the unresisting multitude, to exempt the captives from torture, and to protect the city from a conflagration.

A. D. 455. The pillage, however, lasted fourteen days: and whatever yet remained of publick or private wealth, was diligently collected, and conveyed on board the vessels of Genserick. Eudoxia now saw, and had reason to lament, the imprudence of her conduct in forming such an alliance: the unfortunate empress, with her two daughters, were compelled to follow the conqueror, who instantly hoisting sail, returned in triumph to Carthage.

Avitus, a man of eloquence and courage, who had been intrusted by Maximus with the general command of the forces in Gaul, while on a visit

to Theodorick, king of the Goths, was astonished by the intelligence that his master was slain, and that Rome was pillaged by the Vandals. The Visigoths were attached to the person of Avitus, and respected his virtues. The annual assembly of the seven provinces, held at Arles, naturally inclined to promote the most illustrious of their countrymen; and Avitus was nominated by the representatives of Gaul to the sceptre of the West. The consent of Marcian, the emperor of the East, was easily obtained: and Rome and Italy, long habituated to submit to the strongest party, gave their silent assent.

Theodorick, the friend of Avitus, and the successor of his elder brother Torrismond, supported the character of his warlike ancestors. The Suevi, after the departure of the Vandals, had aspired to the conquest of Spain; the ambassadors of Avitus offered them advantageous terms of peace and alliance, which were backed by the declaration of Theodorick to his brother-in-law, the king of the Suevi, that unless he retired, he must expect the joint opposition of the Romans and Visigoths. "Tell him," replied the haughty Rechiarius, "that I equally despise "his friendship and his enmity; but that I will "soon try, whether he will dare to wait my ar-"rival under the walls of Toulouse." The indignant Theodorick instantly passed the Pyrennées to meet the bold challenger; the Suevi were vanquished and almost exterminated; and their king, who had been delivered up to the victor, was put to death. But while the Gothick monarch conquered in the name of the emperor of Rome, the power of his friend had

expired, and the honour and interest of Theodorick were wounded by the event.

Avitus, at the solicitation of his subjects, had fixed his residence at Rome; but the senate beheld with disgust the imperial ornaments investing a stranger from Gaul. Their murmurs, however, would have been useless, had they not been encouraged by Count Ricimer, the grandson of Wallia by the mother's side, and on his father's descended from the nation of the Suevi. Intrusted with the defence of Italy, his important services rendered him formidable; and on his return from a conquest over the Vandals, he boldly proclaimed to Avitus, that his feeble reign was at an end. The emperor, without resistance, descended from his throne, and hoped to find security in assuming the sacred character of bishop of Placentia; but even in this peaceful station, the hatred of the senate pursued him, and he was at last sacrificed to their implacable resentment.

A. D. 456.

On the abdication of Avitus, Ricimer governed Italy under the title of Patrician, and delegated to Majorian, who had been a participator in the glory of Aetius, the conspicuous station of master-general of the armies. The approved merits of Majorian induced the barbarian to comply with the unanimous wish of the Romans; and after an interregnum of four months, the master-general having signalised his skill and valour in a victory gained over the Alemanni, he was elevated to the imperial throne. The sentiments he expressed on receiving this unsolicited honour, would have done credit to any character; and his virtues derived additional lustre from being contrasted with his immediate predecessors.

The civil regulations of Majorian all tended to the relief of the oppressed, the purity of morals, and the restoration of whatever had been decayed or destroyed in the capital. His military preparations principally pointed towards the recovery of Africa; and with this view he attracted by his liberality, many thousands of the Gepidæ, the Ostrogoths, the Suevi, the Alani, and other barbarians of the remote north, who assembled in the plains of Liguria. In the midst of a severe winter, the emperor, clad in complete armour, conducted them over the Alps, and afterwards vanquished, and admitted to an alliance, the martial king of the Goths.

But as the Vandals were powerful in ships, Majorian wisely considered that a fleet would be necessary to insure his success; and accordingly three hundred galleys were equipped and collected in the spacious harbour of Carthagena. Genserick, who had long defied the Roman power, now began to fear the event, and sued in vain for a peace. In a fit of despair the Vandal tyrant reduced Mauritania to a desert, to check the invader's progress; but his alarm was soon dissipated, and the hopes of Majorian blasted by the false friends of the Romans. In consequence of treacherous information, the usurper of Africa surprised the unguarded fleet in the bay of Carthagena: and the preparations of three years were destroyed in a single day. The Vandal again renewed his solicitations for peace, which were now acceded to, that Majorian might obtain time to repair his fleet; but a dreadful sedition, fermented by Count Ricimer, soon after obliged Majorian to resign the sceptre; and four days after his resignation, it was reported that he died of a dysentery. With

Majorian expired the hopes of Italy and of the Roman name.

That Ricimer, who for some time had held the destiny of the western empire in his hands, might not be again eclipsed by superior merit, he invested with the purple an obscure person, named Lebius Severus; but bounded his dominions by the Alps. Marcellinus and Aegidius, however, disdained to acknowledge this phantom of an emperor; the former of whom occupied Pannonia, and the latter the countries beyond the Alps. The authority of Aegidius ended only with his life, but it is supposed this was shortened by the insidious arts of Ricimer.

The life and reign of Severus, which lasted no longer than they were agreeable to his patron, were protracted for six years. During that period, Italy was afflicted by the incessant depredations of the Vandals, who spread the terrors of their arms from the pillars of Hercules to the mouth of the Nile. Genserick, however, found out a plausible pretence for his hostilities. He had married Eudocia, the eldest daughter of Eudoxia the empress, whom he had carried away captive, to his eldest son Hunnerick; and in consequence of this, asserted a legal claim to a part of the imperial patrimony.

The emperor of the East purchased, by a valuable consideration, a necessary peace: the widow of Valentinian, and her youngest daugh-
A. D. ter Placidia, were restored; and the
462. fury of the Vandals was confined to the territories of the West. Ricimer, who had the ambition to make emperors, but the policy not to be one himself, embarrassed by the difficulties of his situation, long solicited

in vain the assistance of Constantinople; and, at last as the price of alliance, was compelled to accept a master from the choice of the Byzantine court.

Marcian who had conducted the affairs of the East with vigilance and success, during the life of his nominal empress Pulcheria, after her death continued to display the same vigour and firmness; but he refused to draw his sword against Genserick. On the demise of Marcian, Asper might have ascended the throne, if he would have subscribed the Nicene creed; but not being sufficiently orthodox himself, he used his influence to raise to that dignity Leo, of Thrace, a military tribune, and the principal steward of his household. The temperate firmness of Leo resisted the oppression of his patron, and Asper presumed to reproach his sovereign with a breach of promise, in regard to an appointment. "It is not proper," said he, insolently shaking the purple, "that the man who "is invested with this garment, should be guilty "of a falsehood."—"Nor is it proper," retorted Leo, "that a prince should be compelled to re-"sign his own judgment, and the publick inte-"rest, to the pleasure of a subject."

Between those two it was impossible that any cordiality could longer exist: an army of Isaurians, gradually introduced into Rome, undermined the power of Asper; and Leo, listening to the complaints of the Italians, resolved to put an end to the tyranny of the Vandals, and invested Anthemius with the purple of the West.

This prince was grandson of the præfect who had so ably protected the infant reign of Theodosius, and had married the daughter of Mar-

cian, in consequence of which he had some pretensions to succeed his father-in-law; but bearing the disappointment with patience, he was rewarded with the sceptre of the western empire.

A D. 467. The nuptials of his daughter with the patrician Ricimer, promised to secure the fidelity of that formidable barbarian; and the campaign against the Vandals was opened by the præfect Heraclius, who subdued the province of Tripoli, and prepared to join the imperial army under the walls of Carthage. Marcellinus became reconciled to the two emperors, and evinced his allegiance to Anthemius by expelling the Vandals from the island of Sardinia.

The immense preparations of the East at last began to be put in motion. A fleet of eleven hundred and thirteen ships sailed from Constantinople for Carthage; and the number of soldiers and mariners exceeded one hundred thousand. Basiliscus, the brother of the empress of the East, was intrusted with the important command; and the troops, after a prosperous navigation, were landed at Cape Bona, about forty miles from Carthage. The imperial general was supported by the army of Heraclius, and the fleet of Marcellinus, and the Vandals were repeatedly vanquished. At this crisis, had Basiliscus boldly advanced, Carthage must have fallen; but Genserick, having recourse to his wonted artifices, solicited and obtained a truce of five days. During this short interval, the wind becoming favourable to the Vandal chief, he manned the largest of his ships with the most resolute of his followers, who towing after them several barks filled with combustibles, impelled them, under cover of the night, against the un-

guarded fleet of the Romans; and while they endeavoured to escape the fire-ships, they were assaulted by the gallies of the Vandals. Basiliscus fled on the commencement of the action, and returned to Constantinople with the loss of more than half his fleet and army, not without the suspicion of treason, though he escaped punishment through the powerful intercession of his sister. Heraclius with difficulty effected his retreat through the desert; Marcellinus retired to Sicily, where he was soon after assassinated; and the coasts both of the East and the West were again exposed to the ravages of the Vandals.

The death of Majorian had dissolved the alliance between the Goths and the Romans. Theodorick having obtained possession of the territory of Narbonne, by the selfish policy of Ricimer, was invited to invade the provinces which acknowledged the authority of Aegidius; the barbarians were checked near Orleans; but their ambition was acknowledged under Eurick, the brother and successor of Theodorick, who passing the Pyrenées, carried their arms into the heart of Lusitania, and allowed the Suevi to hold Galicia as a dependent sovereignty on the Gothick monarchy of Spain. In the Gauls they were no less successful; for from the Pyrenées to the Rhine and the Loire, very few places resisted the victorious arms of Eurick. The publick confidence became lost; the resources of the state were exhausted; and the inhabitants of the Gauls found it vain to expect protection from the now feeble emperor of the West.

To increase these calamities, a discord broke out between Anthemius, and the still powerful Ricimer. That haughty barbarian, impatient of a superior, retired from Rome; and fixing his

residence at Milan, menaced Italy with a civil war. At last, he was prevailed on to negociate, and Epiphanius, bishop of Pavia, was charged with the commission. Anthemius, after recapitulating the favours conferred on Ricimer, and the natural duty he owed him by being the husband of his daughter, exclaimed, "Shall I now "accept his perfidious friendship? Can I hope "that he will respect the engagements of a "treaty, who has already violated the duties of "a son?" But the resentment of the emperor evaporated in these passionate expressions; and Epiphanius returned with the flattering hope, that he had restored the peace of Italy. Ricimer, however, only changed his mode of attack, and resolved secretly to subvert the throne of Anthemius. For this purpose he augmented his barbarian troops, and advancing to the banks of the Anio, there expected the arrival of the senator Olybrius, whom he resolved to invest with the imperial purple.

The object of the present favour of Ricimer was descended from the Anician family, and having married Placidia, the youngest daughter of Valentinian, had some pretensions to the throne. When the haughty disposer of Roman power, therefore, meditated the ruin of Anthemius, he tempted Olybrius with the offer of a diadem; which flattering his vanity at the expense of his happiness, he set out from Constantinople, with the approbation of the emperor of the East, and landed at Ravenna, where he was received in the camp of Ricimer as the sovereign of the western world.

A. D. 472.

The patrician had already extended his posts from the Anio to the Milvian bridge, and pos-

sessed the two quarters of Rome that were separated by the Tiber; but the remainder of the city, with the great majority of the senate and people, adhered to the cause of Anthemius, who, with the assistance of a Gothick army, was enabled to protract his own life, and the publick distress, by a resistance of three months. At length the victorious troops of Ricimer penetrated to the heart of the city, and Anthemius, dragged from his concealment, was massacred by the command of his son-in-law.

About six weeks after, however, Italy was delivered from the tyranny of Ricimer*, by a painful disease. He bequeathed the command of his army to his nephew Gundobald, a prince of the Burgundians; and Olybrius himself, whose death does not bear any marks of violence, scarcely filled the throne of the West for the short period of seven months.

Leo, the emperor of the East, was persuaded to invest with the purple of the West Julius Nepos, the nephew of Marcellinus, and who had married one of the nieces of the empress Varina, but in consequence of the indecision of the Byzantine court, Gundobald found leisure to raise to the same dignity an obscure soldier, named

* At a time when power constituted right, and he who could command most soldiers, disposed of the empire as he pleased, Ricimer appeared on the stage of publick life. He was a prince of the royal blood of the Suevi, and from his earliest years esteemed by the Roman armies. His panegyrists have styled him, "The greatest captain of his time—the invincible—more courageous than Sylla—more prudent than Fabius—more amiable than Metellus—more eloquent than Appius—more resolute than Fulvius—and more expert than Camillus:" but he seems to have deserved no other character than that of a savage and a turbulent demagogue.

Glycerius; who soon exchanged the Roman sceptre for the bishoprick of Salona; and the Burgundian prince having retired beyond the Alps, Nepos was acknowledged by the Italians and the provincials of Gaul.

The favourable omens which attended the beginning of his reign, were soon changed by his cession of Auvergne to the Visigoths; and his repose was speedily disturbed by a furious sedition of the barbarian confederates, who, under the command of Orestes, advanced from Rome to Ravenna. Nepos, instead of having recourse to arms, fled to his principality of Dalmatia, where, after an equivocal reign of five years, he was assassinated by the ungrateful Glycerius, who, as a reward for his crime, obtained the archbishoprick of Milan.

After the death of Attila, the bravest youths of the nations who had recovered their independence, enlisted themselves in the army of the confederates, who formed the defence and terror of Italy. Among these was Orestes, descended from an illustrious family in Pannonia, who, disdaining to obey the Ostrogoths, to whom his native country was ceded, enlisted in the armies of Rome. By the successors of Valentinian he was rapidly advanced in the military profession, and by Nepos himself was elevated to the dignities of patrician and master-general of the troops. These, when Orestes declined the purple, readily consented to acknowledge his son Augustulus, a child, as emperor of the West; but it was soon discovered that the precarious sovereign of Italy was only permitted to choose between being the slave and the victim of his barbarian mercenaries. These demanded that

a third part of Italy should be divided among them; and Orestes, with a virtuous fortitude that deserved a better fate, determined to encounter the rage of an armed multitude, rather than subscribe the ruin of an innocent people. He retired to Pavia for security; but the fortifications of the city being stormed by the soldiers, led on by Odoacer, a bold barbarian, the rage of the confederates was not appeased till Orestes was put to death.

Odoacer was the son of Edecon, once in high favour with Attila. The father had listened to a conspiracy against the life of his sovereign, but his apparent guilt was expiated by his merit, and his name is honourably mentioned as the leader of the Scyrri, in the unequal contest of the Huns with the Ostrogoths. Edecon did not survive this defeat, and left two sons, Anulf and Odoacer:—the former retired to Constantinople, where he sullied the fame he had acquired in arms, by the assassination of a generous benefactor; the latter led a wandering life among the barbarians of Noricum, till he was encouraged by a favourable prediction to return to Italy. "Pursue your design," said Severinus the saint, whose approbation he solicited; "you shall soon "cast away this coarse garment of skins, and "your wealth will be equal to the liberality of "your mind." The success of the barbarians gave validity to the words of the prophecy: he was admitted, and soon gained an honourable rank among the guards of the western empire; his manners were gradually polished, his military skill improved; and on the execution of Orestes, the confederates saluted him with the title of king; but he was too politick to assume

the purple and diadem, and had too much pride to be a nominal emperor, like many of his predecessors.

The feeble and youthful Augustus, or Augustulus, as he was called, was directed to signify his resignation to the senate; and that assembly, in an epistle to Zeno, now emperor of the East, disclaimed the necessity of continuing the imperial succession in Italy, since, as they flatteringly observed, the majesty of the monarch of Constantinople was sufficient to protect both the East and the West. They further added, "that the republick might safely confide in the civil and military virtues of Odoacer; and they humbly requested that the emperor would invest him with the title of patrician and the administration of the diocese of Italy." Zeno, after due deliberation, found it prudent to comply with their requisition; he gratefully accepted the imperial ensigns, and entertained a friendly correspondence with the patrician Odoacer, who showed his clemency to Augustulus, and assigned him a splendid income to support him in a private station, at a villa in Campania.

Thus ended the empire of the West, five hundred and seven years after the foundation of the Roman monarchy, by the decisive battle of Actium; and twelve hundred and twenty-nine from the building of Rome. Writers have not failed to remark, that the empire began in Augustus, and ended in a prince called by a diminutive of the same name.

Before we resume the history of the eastern empire, a general view of the state of Europe, which succeeded this important revolution, cannot fail to be entertaining and instructive.

Odoacer, the first barbarian who reigned in Italy, proved not unworthy of the high station to which his valour and fortune had exalted him. To gratify the prejudices of his subjects, he restored the consulship of the West, and successively filled the curule chair with eleven of the most illustrious senators. The civil administration of Italy was still exercised by the prætorian præfect; the revenues were collected by the Roman magistrates; and under a prince of the arian persuasion, it appears that the catholicks lived unmolested.

But though Odoacer was formidable to his external enemies, he was not able to restrain the licentiousness of his own troops, who claimed a third of the landed property of Italy; and in consequence of a compliance with their demands, the misery and desolation of the other two thirds followed. The tributary harvests of Africa and Egypt being withdrawn, the number of inhabitants was continually diminished with the means of subsistence; and pope * Gelasius, a subject of Odoacer, affirms, that in some districts the human species was almost extirpated; while famine and pestilence gleaned the miserable refuse that had escaped the edge of the sword. Yet, amidst the general distress, Odoacer maintained with reputation his station for fourteen years, during which he strengthened his power by alliances with the most powerful of the bar-

* Pope, from a Greek word signifying father, in the East is an appellation given to all christian priests; and in the West bishops were called by it in ancient times, though it gradually began to be restrained to the bishop of Rome, to whom it has now been exclusively appropriated for many centuries.

barians; but at last he was compelled to yield to the superior genius of Theodorick, king of the Ostrogoths. He resigned to Eurick, the king of the Visigoths, all the Roman conquests beyond the Alps, as far as the Rhine and the Ocean; and under the reign of Eurick, the Gothick nation might be said to aspire to the monarchy of Spain and Gaul. The most distant and savage nations respected his power and courted his friendship; and his palace at Bourdeaux was crowded by the ambassadors of the Heruli, the Saxons, the Burgundians, and the Franks. The growing dominion of the Visigoths, however, was checked by the premature death of Eurick; and his son Alarick was an helpless infant, when his adversary Clovis had grown into distinction for his ambition and valour.

Childerick, the father of Clovis, had been hospitably entertained during his exile by the king and queen of the Thuringians; and, with an ingratitude which seems to have been fashionable in all ages, alienated the affections of the wife of his benefactor. On the restoration of Childerick, Basina, the queen of the Thuringians, fled from her husband's to her lover's arms, and the offspring of this union was Clovis, who on the death of his father, at fifteen years of age, inherited a very limited kingdom, confined to the island of the Batavians, with the dioceses of Tournay and Arras. The kindred tribes of the Franks, who had seated themselves along the Belgick rivers, were governed by their independent princes of the Merovingian race; but though in peace they obeyed the hereditary jurisdiction of their chiefs, yet they were free to follow the standard of any victorious general; and the superior merit of

Clovis soon attracted the allegiance of the national confederacy. With a strict discipline he combined the most generous disposition; and in a few years, the Belgick cities acknowledged him king of the Franks, while he had enlarged his dominions eastward by the conquest of the country of Tongres.

The Alemanni had subdued the northern parts of Helvetia, and had spread themselves over the provinces of Alsace and Lorraine. At last, their invasion of the kingdom of Cologne summoned to the support of his allies the valiant Clovis. In the plains of Colbiack, about twenty-four miles from Cologne, he encountered, and, after an obstinate conflict, vanquished, the invaders of Gaul. The king of the Alemanni was slain in battle, and his trembling subjects pursued into the heart of their forests. The magnanimous Theodorick, who then ruled over Italy, and had married the sister of Clovis, congratulated his brother on his victory, but mildly interceded for the unfortunate fugitives. The Gallick territories which had been occupied by the Alemanni, submitted to the conqueror; but the inhabitants obtained the indulgence of enjoying their peculiar manners and institutions, under the government of officials and at last of hereditary dukes. After the conquest of the western provinces, the Franks alone maintained their ancient habitations beyond the Rhine, and gradually subduing the countries as far as the Elbe and the mountains of Bohemia, secured the obedience of Germany. A. D. 496.

Clovis, till the thirtieth year of his age, had continued to worship the gods of his ancestors; but having married Clotilda, a niece of the king

of Burgundy, who was educated in the christian faith, his conversion was greatly facilitated through her means. Remigius, bishop of Rheims, strengthening by his eloquence the assiduities of conjugal affection, the king of the Franks consented to be baptized, and his example was readily followed by his loyal subjects, while the zeal of the clergy was interested to extend the dominion of the Catholick Clovis.

Though the foundations of the Armorican republick had been repeatedly overthrown, the people asserted the dignity of the Roman name, and resisted the attacks of Clovis, who endeavoured to extend his conquests from the Seine to the Loire. An honourable union effected what arms could not do: the Franks esteemed the valour of the Armoricans, and the latter were reconciled to the religion of the Franks, and accepted without shame the capitulation proposed by Clovis. The northern provinces of Gaul, however, were slow and gradual acquisitions; and seem to have been obtained as much by the policy as the valour of the king of the Franks.

A. D. 497.

The kingdom of Burgundy, which extended from the forest of Vosges to the Alps, and the sea of Marseilles, was governed by Gundobald, who to consolidate his power, had slain two of his brothers, one of whom was the father of Clotilda, while Godegesil, the youngest, was permitted to possess the dependent principality of Geneva. The conversion of Clovis had raised the hopes of the orthodox clergy of Burgundy; and their arian chief, desirous to put an end to religious differences, convened an assembly of his bishops at Lyons. In the midst of their debates, an

abrupt question from the sovereign revealed the agitation of his mind. "If you truly profess the "christian religion," said he, "why do you not "restrain the king of the Franks? He has de- "clared war against me, and threatens my de- "struction by forming alliances with my ene- "mies. A sanguinary and covetous mind is not "the symptom of a sincere conversion: let him "show his faith by his works." Avitus, bishop of Vienna, made this casuistical reply: "We are "ignorant of the motives and designs of the "king of the Franks; but we are taught by "scripture, that the kingdoms which abandon "the divine law are frequently subverted: Re- "turn with thy people to the law of God, and "he will give peace and security to thy do- "minions." Gundobald listened to the moni- tion, but rejected the advice; and dismissed the assembly with complaints, that Clovis had pri- vately perverted the allegiance of his brother.

In fact, the fidelity of Godegesil was already corrupted: he joined the standard of his brother merely to evince his treachery more strongly by deserting him in the day of battle; and Gundo- bald, faintly supported by the disaffected Gauls, yielded to the arms of Clovis, and fled from the vicinity of Langres to Avignon. This place being obstinately defended, the king of the Franks was discouraged from persevering, and returned to his own dominions, after imposing a tribute on the king of Burgundy, and compel- ling him, by a refinement of cruelty, to reward his brother's treachery. But the triumph of Clovis was soon clouded by the intelligence that Gun- dobald had surprised and massacred Godegesil, who was left with five thousand Franks at Vienna.

The sovereign of the Franks dissembled his resentment, because it was no longer in his power to show it with effect. Misfortunes had endeared Gundobald to his people, and the clergy were flattered with the hopes of his conversion. Clovis, therefore, found it expedient to release the king of the Burgundians from the tribute which he had imposed on him, and to accept in lieu of it, his military services.

Sigismond, who succeeded his father Gundobald, stained the catholick faith which he professed, by the blood of an innocent son; and his guilt was punished by the sons of Clovis, who, at the instigation of their mother Clotilda, invaded Burgundy. Its unhappy king was vanquished in a decisive battle, and after a short concealment, was betrayed by his subjects, who were desirous of cultivating the favour of their expected masters. The captive monarch with his two sons were buried alive in a well, and the Burgundians were permitted to enjoy their national laws, under the condition of tribute and military service.

The rapid progress of the arms of Clovis had been regarded with terror and jealousy by the Goths, whose youthful sovereign, Alarick, found it impossible to appear as a competitor with his mature rival. The two monarchs, however, after a personal interview in an island of the Loire, parted with professions of mutual amity: but Clovis soon betrayed his real sentiments; for in an assembly of his princes and warriors at Paris, he declared his concern that some of the fairest provinces of Gaul were still possessed by Arians, and invited his followers to vanquish and divide the territory of the hereticks. Thus, while

he pretended to do honour to religion, he violated its most essential precepts; and while he contended, as bigots have generally done, about metaphysical distinctions, neglected the practice of those duties which all can understand, and all are bound to comply with. The Franks, however, applauded the pious principles of their leader; and the military operations of Clovis were seconded by the zeal of the catholick clergy. Alarick, on the other hand, that he might resist these foreign and domestick enemies, collected his forces; while Theodorick, king of Italy, who affected to mediate between the competitors, but whose penetration apprehended danger from the growing power of Clovis, prepared to support the cause of the Goths.

The youthful warriors of the Visigoths disdained to retreat before the army of the Franks, who had advanced into the neighbourhood of Poitiers: the more sedate chieftains advised their king to wait for the arrival of reinforcements from the Ostrogoths. Alarick was perplexed by the variety of counsels: the decisive moments were wasted in idle deliberation; and the Goths, at last, having hastily abandoned an advantageous post, exposed their rear by their slow and disorderly motion. About ten miles from Poitiers, Clovis overtook and attacked the Gothick army, confused and irresolute. The two kings encountered each other in single combat; and Alarick fell beneath the sword of his rival. A. D. 507.
The valiant youths who had clamorously demanded the battle, scorned to survive their sovereign; and heaps of slain attested the bloody victory of Clovis. The conquest of Aquitain followed; and the victor established his

winter quarters at Bourdeaux. The Visigoths, however, were preserved from total extirpation by the powerful protection of Theodorick; and the Franks being compelled to raise the siege of Arles with considerable loss, afterwards concluded a treaty with the vanquished.

After the success of the Gothick war, Clovis, in order to ingratiate himself more strongly with the Romans, assumed the honours of the consulship. Attached to ancient titles, that people revered in their barbarian master the name of an office, which popular suffrage had once conferred on merit. Clovis maintained his station with dignity, and the emperors of the East, by soliciting his friendship, ratified the usurpation of Gaul. Some years after the death of the first king of the Franks, a treaty between his sons and the emperor Justinian, confirmed to the princes Marseilles and Arles, what had been yielded to them by the Ostrogoths, and acknowledged the sovereignty of the Merovingian princes over the countries beyond the Alps. When the conquests and inheritance of these princes were united by the last survivor of the sons of Clovis, his kingdom, though unequal in wealth and power, extended far beyond the limits of the late monarchy, or rather it corresponded with the present French republick.

The degenerate Romans of Gaul were not only exposed to the arms, but subjected to the laws of the ferocious barbarians, who contemptuously insulted their possessions, their freedom, and their safety. A large portion of their land was exacted for the use of the Franks; but they enjoyed the remainder, exempt from tribute, and were for ever delivered from the expensive

system of imperial despotism. In the important concerns of marriage, testaments, and inheritance, they adopted the rules of the Theodosian code. A Roman might freely aspire to the title and privileges of a barbarian; and was permitted to march in the ranks, or on some occasions to enjoy a principal command. During several generations, the barbarians were excluded from the orders of the church, and the clergy of Gaul consisted almost entirely of native provincials. The conquerors received from the vanquished the profession of the christian religion, and the use of the Latin language; and by degrees, the intercourse of sacred and social communion eradicated the distinction of birth and victory, while the Gaulish nations at length became confounded under the name and government of the Franks.

To their subjects the Franks gradually communicated a spirit and system of constitutional liberty. By the conquest of Gaul, the annual assemblies which had so long been held in the month of March, were abolished; the monarchy was left without any regular establishment of justice or of revenue; and the successors of Clovis were only distinguished from their nobles, by a more extensive latitude of rapine and murder. Such, indeed, was the licentious abuse of freedom which gradually prevailed, that when the leaders of an unsuccessful party were reproached for their guilt or neglect, they pleaded as an excuse the universal corruption of the people. "No one," said they, "any longer fears or respects his king, his duke, or his count; each man loves to do evil, and freely indulges his criminal inclinations. The most gentle correction provokes an immediate tumult; and

"the rash magistrate who presumes to censure "or restrain his seditious countrymen, seldom "escapes alive from their revenge."

The Visigoths, who had once exercised paramount authority in Gaul, had resigned the greatest part of their possessions to the Franks; but this cession was amply compensated by the easy conquest and secure enjoyment of the provinces of Spain. The monarchy of the Goths soon involved the Suevick kingdom of Gallicia; and while the prelates of France disgraced their profession by fighting and hunting, the bishops of Spain were respected for the decency of their manners, and by their union established their authority. The regular discipline of the church introduced order and stability into the government of the state; and from the reign of Recared, the first catholick king, frequent national councils were successively convened. For the three first days of meeting, the most dignified of the clergy agitated the ecclesiastical questions of doctrine and discipline; but on the fourth, the nobles entered the council, and assisted in giving validity to the decrees. The national councils of Toledo, tempered the ferocious spirit of the barbarians, and at last ratified the code of laws which had been compiled by a succession of Gothick kings. As long, however, as the Visigoths were dissatisfied with the rude institutions of their ancestors, they indulged their subjects with the enjoyment of the Roman law; but their gradual improvements in arts and policy, encouraged them to supersede those foreign laws, and to form a code of their own for the general use of a great and united people. These were communicated to the nations that composed the

Spanish monarchy; and the conquerors, insensibly renouncing the Teutonick usages, extended to the vanquished the full participation of freedom.

While the kingdoms of the Franks and Visigoths were gaining a durable establishment in Gaul and Spain, the Saxons achieved the conquest of Britain, which for forty years had been left without any supreme head. Vortigern, indeed, appears to have extended his sway over the cities and princes of South Britain; but his usurped dominions being infested by the vexatious inroads of the Picts and Scots, Hengist and Horsa, two Saxon chiefs, as they ranged along the eastern coast with three ships, were invited to the defence of Britain. The Caledonians were repelled by the arms of these auxiliaries; and the isle of Thanet rewarded the services of the allies. The infant power of Hengist was quickly strengthened by the accession of seventeen vessels, and five thousand warriors; when he craftily suggested to Vortigern the policy of settling a colony in the vicinity of the Picts; and a new fleet of forty vessels, under the command of his son and nephew, sailing from Germany, first ravaged the Orkneys, and then disembarked on the coast of Northumberland. The dangerous character of these licensed invaders was discovered too late: the Saxons flew to arms, and three hundred British chiefs were massacred by the treacherous barbarians, amidst the festivities of an entertainment, to which they had insidiously been invited. A. D. 449.

Immediately after, Hengist threw off the mask, and openly aspired to the conquest of Britain. That he might, however, insure success to

this enterprise, he exhorted his countrymen to co-operate in his views. Accordingly, seven chieftains having each assembled his peculiar followers, conducted the invasion as private interest dictated; and having at length vanquished the divided and distracted Britons, established seven independent thrones, known by the name of the Saxon heptarchy. Thus, seven families, one of which has been continued by female succession to our present sovereign, are said to have derived their equal lineage from Woden, the god of war. The Britons, however, did not tamely submit to these formidable pirates: the acquisitions of Hengist, during an active reign of thirty-five years, were confined to the kingdom of Kent, and the colony he had planted in the north fell under the sword of the natives. Three martial generations were consumed in establishing the monarchy of the West Saxons, and above an hundred years elapsed before the banners of the victorious invaders were united in the centre of the island. After all, the Britons beyond the Severn still asserted their national freedom, which survived not only the heptarchy but even the monarchy of the Saxons. The bravest of the aborigines found a secure refuge in the mountains of Wales, and a band of fugitives occupied the western angle of Armorica, which obtained the appellation of the Lesser Britain, and till lately was known under the name of Brittanny.

The obstinate resistance of the Britons increased the miseries of conquest, and inflamed the resentment of the victors. The arts, the religion, the laws, and the language, which the Romans had so carefully planted in Britain, were extirpated by their barbarous successors.

The proceedings of civil and criminal jurisdiction, the forms of office, and the ranks and gradations of society, were alike suppressed; and about a million of Britons attached to the estates of their landlords, under the name of villains, were reduced to the most degrading servitude, and governed by the traditionary customs of the shepherds and the pirates of Germany.

As for the Britons, who still maintained their independence, and propagated and preserved the Celtick tongue, they appear to have relapsed into a state of original barbarism. Ignorant of the arts of peace, they alternately indulged their passions in foreign and domestick war: their poverty allowed them not to purchase shields or helmets; yet these rude and naked barbarians, encountered with undaunted resolution their well-armed and disciplined enemies.

Such were the events that followed, either immediately or in consequence, the dissolution of the empire of the West. Gaul and Spain were divided between the monarchies of the Franks and Visigoths, and the dependent kingdoms of the Suevi and Burgundians: Africa was oppressed by the Vandals, and ravaged by the Moors: Rome and Italy, as far as the banks of the Danube, were exhausted by the lawless arms of warlike barbarians, who assumed the title of confederates; and their tyranny was succeeded by the reign of Theodorick the Ostrogoth. The Saxons, as we have just seen, fiercely struggled with the natives for the possession of Britain; and the other nations of Germany, by their numbers and their victories, overran the whole of the western countries, and established

a new system of manners and government, on the ruins of imperial Rome.

In the fifth century of the christian æra, a pure religion had very generally triumphed over the blind credulity of the pagan and the superstition of the polytheist; yet the victory was frequently obscured by the fatal dissentions of the church. The state was distracted by contending religious factions, all equally zealous for truth, but disagreeing in its essence, according to the lights in which they viewed it; while the persecuted sects, naturally became the secret enemies of their country. The monastick institution, which had already risen to a considerable height, buried in the desert or the cloister that vigour which might have repelled invasion; and that wealth which might have been appropriated to the support of a soldier, was devoted to maintain a set of lazy enthusiasts, who could only plead the merits of abstinence and chastity. Yet if superstition had not afforded a retreat to effeminacy, the same vice would have tempted the Romans to have deserted their standard from baser motives; the revenues which were consecrated to the specious demands of charity and devotion, would possibly have been employed in supplying the fictitious demands of pride and luxury; and the greatest enemy to our holy religion must confess, that if the establishment of Christianity contributed to the ruin of the empire, its mild doctrines broke the violence of the fall, and softened the ferocious temper of the conquerors.

But though a change of religion, and consequently of civil institutions, might have a considerable effect in accelerating the downfal of the Roman empire, the savage nations of the

north were the primary cause of its catastrophe. These pressed with incessant force and accumulated weight on the yielding barriers of the empire; and if the foremost were destroyed, the vacant space was speedly replenished by new and increased assailants, till at last the torrent became too mighty for opposition, and bursting every successive mound, flowed expansive and unrestrained.

But it is time to return to the consideration of the affairs of the eastern empire, which maintained a sickly existence with some few intervals of health and vigour, for several centuries longer, till at last it yielded to an enemy, whose very name at the period we are now speaking of, was unknown and unheard of.

CHAP. XXVI.

From the Reign of Leo to the Death of Heraclius.

THE imperfect annals of the eastern empire, which have been transmitted to posterity, must of necessity confine our history of this feeble representative of the Roman greatness, to prominent facts and important events.

Leo, whose elevation has already been mentioned, disgraced his reign by the murder of Asper and his sons, by whose influence he had risen. He died of a flux at an advanced age, after a reign of seventeen years, and the inheritance of the East devolved on his grandson, the offspring of his daughter Ariadne, by an Isaurian husband, who changed his barbarous appellative of Trascalisseus for the Greek of Zeno. The father was soon elevated to the second rank in the empire; and the premature death of his infant son, as it conduced to gratify his ambition, excited the publick suspicion of unfair means being used. Verina, the widow of Leo, fomented the popular discontents against the unnatural parent; and Zeno was obliged to fly with precipitation to the mountains of Isauria.

A. D. 474.

Verina, however, carried her designs further, by investing her brother Basiliscus with the purple; but he too soon lost her favour, by presuming to assassinate the lover of his sister, and the paramour of his wife. The malcontents, who were

numerous among the people as well as in the palace, recalled Zeno from exile; and the unhappy usurper, with his whole family, condemned to perish by cold and hunger. Harmatius, who had materially contributed to the restoration of Zeno, received from the latter the reward that had been promised him, of being appointed master of the household; but no sooner was he installed in his office than Zeno caused him to be massacred in his palace by Onoulus, whom Harmatius himself had brought up. Indeed if every private circumstance in each reign were to be recorded, instead of developing the great events which led to the catastrophe of the empire of the East, in every subsequent period would be found the same treachery between fathers, wives, and children, relations and friends, the protectors and the protected. It also deserves to be remarked, that the religious systems and heresies, so warmly supported by the disputatious and sophistical Greeks, were the continual cause or pretence of the disturbances of the court. Opinions reciprocally at variance, in which the people took an active part, led on by demagogues, who inspired them with a blind fury for their own sinister ends, became more dangerous in proportion as they appeared or were reputed more sacred.

The haughty spirit of Verina was still incapable of repose; she provoked new rebellions in Syria and Egypt; and to the last hour of her life persisted in civil commotion. The indolent tranquillity of Zeno's debauchery was thus interrupted by two revolts: the one under his brother-in-law Marcian, who set up for himself in right of his wife Leontia, the eldest daughter of

Leo; the other under Leontius, the commander of the Syrian troops. They both ended by the death of their authors; nor did Zeno long delay following them to the tomb, which, if historians are to be believed, he entered alive. Ariadne, who loved him not, profiting by an attack of the epilepsy, to which the emperor was subject, caused him to be precipitately interred. A noise was heard in the coffin, which she would not suffer to be opened; and some days after it was discovered that Zeno had devoured the flesh off his own arms. He was sixty-five years old, and had reigned seventeen.

A. D. 491.

Zeno had profusely lavished on Theodorick, king of the Goths, every favour which imperial power could bestow:—the rank of patrician and consul, the command of the Palatine troops, an immense treasure, and the promise of a rich and honourable wife. The abilities of this barbarian hero long supported the cause of his benefactor; but the ferocious people, over whom he reigned rather as a minister than a king, and whose unbroken spirit was equally impatient of slavery or insult, at length converted the faithful servant into a formidable rival; and made him despise the feeble support of the Greek empire, which in reality he did not want.

Ariadne, on the death of her husband, bestowed her hand and the imperial title on Anastasius, who had grown old in the offices of the palace, where he exercised that of *silentiarius*, or the preserver of silence;—a dignity which still exists in the palaces of the East, in which the tumult of European courts is unknown. The virtues of Anastasius had been long tried and respected; and when he was proclaimed emperor

in the circus, the universal acclamation was, "Reign, Anastasius, as thou hast lived!"

The hopes of the good this prince might do, and the experience of what he really did in suppressing the most odious taxes, supported his throne for six years, though assailed by a powerful cabal, which proceeded to the last extremities, and ended in the destruction of the leaders in the sedition and their accomplices. Anastasius, indeed, endured perpetual vexation from the conflicts between the orthodox and the Eutychians, to the latter of which he is accused of having been partial. In consequence of this, a commotion was excited in favour of the orthodox, which at one time was the destruction of more than ten thousand men. On another occasion, Vitalianus, the governor of Thrace, advanced to the very walls of Constantinople, and threatened to depose the emperor, unless he recalled the Catholick bishop, whom he had exiled; with which peremptory demand he was obliged to comply. External enemies also daily gained ground, and swarms of Persians and barbarians infested the empire. In order to secure his capital from their incursions, he enclosed it with an intrenchment, called afterwards the walls of Anastasius; a kind of defence which rather evinces weakness than tends to security. The beginning of this prince's reign justified the favourable opinion that had been conceived of his virtues; he showed great generosity, gentleness of disposition, and application to business, and seemed to have nothing more at heart than the happiness of his subjects; but at last he degenerated so far as to sell offices, and divide the

spoils of the people with the governors of the provinces, to whose rapacity he abandoned them. In the eightieth year of his age he was found dead in his chamber, after having reigned twenty-seven.

Justin, a native of Dacia, where he had followed the business of a shepherd, possessing a strength and stature which he thought were likely to recommend him, left the peaceful occupations of pastoral life, and obtained a place among the guards of the emperor Leo. By long service in the Persian and Isaurian wars, he had obtained the successive ranks of tribune, of count, and of general, with the dignity of senator, and the command of the guards, at the important crisis when Anastasius expired. The kinsmen of that prince were excluded from the throne by the artifices of the eunuch Amantius, who resolved to bestow the purple on the most obsequious of his creatures. A liberal donative to conciliate the guards was intrusted in the hands of Justin, who, with corresponding insidiousness, employed it in his own favour; and as no competitor presumed to appear against a man so protected, the Dacian peasant ascended the throne, with the unanimous consent of the military, the clergy, and the people.

A. D. 218.

Justin, to whom the epithet of Elder is given, to distinguish him from another emperor of the same name and family, was sixty-eight years of age when he was invested with the purple; and during the nine successive years of his life, he was preserved from exposing his incapacity by his good sense in following the direction of abler statesmen, whom he had the wisdom to select.

At this time the world beheld two contemporary monarchs, Theodorick and himself, who were destitute even of the knowledge of the alphabet; but the commanding genius of the Goth rendered him respectable amidst all his ignorance of learning. Justin, though personally brave, was conscious of his political incapacity, and relied on the diligence of his quæstor Proclus, and the talents of his nephew Justinian, whom the aged emperor drew from the solitudes of Dacia, and educated as his future heir.

The eunuch Amantius lost his life for a real or a pretended conspiracy, and three of his associates were punished either with exile or death. Vitalian, who, in defence of the orthodox faith, had waged a popular war against Anastasius, and still remained at the head of a formidable army, on the security of oaths, was persuaded to trust himself in Constantinople. The emperor and his nephew embraced him with affected regard; but a few months after, he was assassinated at a royal banquet, and Justinian was appointed in his room master-general of the armies of the East, without any claims from military service. Indeed, this young prince preferred cultivating the favour of the people in the churches, the circus, and the senate of Constantinople, to the precarious laurels of war; and, while he maintained his ascendant over his uncle, committed to hardier warriors the defence of the eastern empire.

Already Justinian meditated the extirpation of heresy, and the conquest of Italy and Africa. A rigorous law was published at Constantinople against the Arians: and Theodorick, on the other hand, claimed, for his brethren of the East, the

same indulgence he had so long allowed to the Catholicks of his dominions. The Roman pontiff, with four illustrious senators, embarked for Constantinople, to mitigate, by their representations, the severity of Justin, or to declare the prohibition of the Catholick religion in Italy. By the condemnation of Boethius and Symmachus, Theodorick had already violated the principles of justice and humanity, and to his other errors or crimes he was about to add persecution.

The senator Boethius was one of the most illustrious characters in Rome. He had prosecuted his studies for many years in the schools of Athens, and after his marriage with the daughter of his friend the patrician, Symmachus, he rose to the dignities of consul and patrician, and was employed in the most important offices. But the favour of Boethius declining with the increasing years of his master, the senator Albinus was accused and convicted on the presumption of *hoping* the liberty of Rome. "If Albinus be criminal," exclaimed Boethius, "the senate and myself are all guilty of "the same crime." This rash declaration cost him his life. The Roman senate, at the command of their barbarian master, pronounced a sentence of death against the most illustrious of its members; and Symmachus, for having presumed to lament the fate of his injured friend, was dragged in chains from Rome to Ravenna, and the jealousy of the tyrant could only be effaced by his blood.

The early and mature years of Theodorick were irradiated by glory and virtue; but his last days were clouded with guilt and remorse. His tortured fancy represented to his views the angry

features of Symmachus, and of his amiable son-in-law Boethius. The agitation of his mind increased the disorder of his body; and after a dysentery of three days, he expired in the palace of Ravenna, in the thirty-third year of his reign. Conscious of his approaching end, he divided his treasures and his dominions between his two grandsons, and fixed the Rhone as their common boundary. To Alamarick he restored the throne of Spain; but Italy, with all the conquests of the Ostrogoths, was bequeathed to Athalarick, then only ten years of age.

After a schism of thirty-four years, the counsels of Justinian reconciled the angry spirit of the Roman pontiff: the thrones of the East were filled with prelates devoted to his interest; and all ranks of the people were flattered by the assiduity with which he courted their attachment. The senate in particular, expressed their wish to the emperor, that he would be pleased to adopt Justinian as his colleague: and accordingly his nephew was solemnly invested with the purple, in the presence of the patriarch and the conscript fathers.

Justin survived this ceremony only four months, and Justinian, who afterwards obtained the title of the Great, governed the Roman empire for the long period of thirty-eight years and upwards. He married Theodora, one of the daughters of Acacius, a native of Cyprus. This woman, when only seven years of age, was introduced into the theatre, and for some years was devoted to the publick and private pleasures of the people of Byzantium. As a pantomime, the applause bestowed on her was constant and unbounded; but her

A. D. 527.

beauty was the source of more exquisite delight. Her features were delicate and regular; her eyes expressed every shade of sensation; and her whole figure, though small, was shaped by the hand of symmetry, and enlivened by all the graces of art. Her vague commerce, and the detestable arts she used, prevented her from being a mother more than once; and this fruit of licentious love, a son, it is supposed, was dispatched by her order, after she became empress. This charmer, who had for some time affected a life of solitude, won the heart of Justinian, and her temper and understanding maintained a constant ascendant over his mind. As a consort on the throne, the most illustrious persons in the state were alternately doomed, as her humour might suggest, to experience the levity of a comedian or the arrogance of an empress. Her rapacity was unbounded; and many cruelties are laid to her charge, which she exercised by means of her numerous spies. Yet, it must be acknowledged, she was not destitute of virtues. Her influence often assuaged the intolerant zeal of Justinian: we shall have occasion in the sequel to mention her courage and presence of mind; and her chastity, from the moment of her marriage, is allowed to have been inviolable. By the emperor she had only one child, who died in its infancy; and a destructive cancer carried off the empress herself, in the twenty-second year of her elevation.

In the reign of Justinian one of the most dreadful commotions took place which had ever shaken Constantinople. At this time the support of a faction, distinguished by a diversity of colour, became necessary to every candidate for

civil or ecclesiastical honours. The *green* were attached to the family or sect of Anastasius: the *blues* were devoted to orthodoxy and Justinian; and their grateful patron protected above five years, a party, whose tumults overawed the palace, the senate, and the city.

A momentary reconciliation of these two factions, produced the event we are about to relate. Two criminals, one of the green, and the other of the blue party, had escaped from impending punishment, to the sanctuary of a neighbouring church. Both factions were equally provoked by the cruelty of their oppressor; and, uniting their strength, like a torrent, overwhelmed the palace of the præfect, his officers, and his guards. The barbarians in the service of the empire, joining in the affray, firebrands were darted against the houses, and the flames spread without control. For five days Constantinople was abandoned to licentious fury, and the watch-word NIKA, *vanquish*, resounded from every quarter.

Amidst the confusion and uproar, Hypatius, nephew to Anastasius, surrounded by the populace, was reluctantly hurried to the forum of Constantine, and a rich collar placed upon his head by way of a diadem. The greatest part of the senate took the part of the rebels; and Justinian, desponding and alarmed, was preparing to leave the city, and to seek for safety by embarking on board a vessel in the harbour when the magnanimity and courage of Theodora prevented this disgrace, and recalled him to more manly exertions. "If flight," said she, "were the only means of protection, I

"should, even in that case, disdain to fly. Death "is the condition of our birth; but they who "have reigned should never survive the loss of "dignity and dominion. I implore Heaven, that "I may never be seen, not even for a day, with- "out my diadem and my purple;—that I may "no longer behold the light when I cease to be "saluted with the name of queen. If you resolve, "O Cæsar! to fly, you have treasures: behold "the sea, you have ships, but tremble, lest the "desire of life should expose you to wretched "exile, and ignominious death. For my own "part, I adhere to the maxim of antiquity, 'that "the throne is a glorious grave."

Animated by this harangue, Justinian put himself at the head of his guards, and defended himself in his palace. When it was found that he was not wanting to himself, he soon received succour: the illustrious Belisarius brought a corps of three thousand veteran troops to his assistance; and, it is computed, that no less than thirty thousand persons perished in the carnage. Hipatius, the ephemeral emperor, together with Pompey, another nephew of Anastasius, were dragged to the feet of Justinian, and in vain implored his clemency. The senators also, who had abetted this rebellion, were punished, and their property confiscated; but the emperor afterwards had the humanity to restore their rank and fortune to their children. The games of the circus were, during several years, interdicted; but with their restoration, the blue and the green factions revived, and continued to disturb the tranquillity of the empire.

When Justinian ascended to the throne, the kingdoms of the Goths and Vandals had ob-

tained a peaceable establishment in Europe and Africa; but the Roman lawyers and statesmen asserted the indefeasible dominion of the emperors of the East; who still aspired to deliver their reputed subjects from the usurpation of barbarians and hereticks.

The agitated condition of Africa afforded an honourable motive, and promised a powerful support to the imperial arms: and this opportunity Justinian was determined not to neglect. The Vandal monarch, Gelimer, was threatened by foes on all sides; while the hopes of the Romans were raised to a high pitch, by the appointment of Belisarius to the command of their armies.

This hero, who revived the fainting glory of Rome, was born among the Thracian peasants, and had gradually risen to military command in the army of Justinian. In the plains of Dara he defeated the Persians with great slaughter; and his conduct in the sedition of Constantinople secured the esteem of the emperor; but his appointment to the command of the African expedition, was possibly promoted by the intrigues of his wife Antonina, whose chastity has been stained with the foulest reproach, but who, with manly fortitude, accompanied her husband in all his campaigns, and long maintained her ascendant over his heart.

With a numerous army and a powerful fleet, Belisarius set out for the conquest of Africa, and after encountering many dangers, landed on that coast, and soon advanced within fifty miles of Carthage. A general engagement speedily followed, in which Gelimer was defeated. This unfortunate monarch, after collecting the re-

mains of his scattered army, was encamped in the fields of Bulla, about four days' journey from Carthage, where he received epistolary intelligence that his brother Zano had reduced the island of Sardinia, which had revolted. His answer was expressive of his situation. "Alas, "my brother," wrote Gelimer, "Heaven has de- "clared against this devoted nation! our horses, "our ships, Carthage itself, and all Africa, are "in the power of the enemy: nothing now re- "mains but the plains of Bulla, and the hope of "your valour. Abandon Sardinia; fly to our "relief; restore our empire, or perish by our "side." On the receipt of this epistle, whose contents he prudently concealed from the natives of the island, Zano hastened to embark, and in a few days joined the royal camp.

The interview between the brothers was mournful; but the languid spirit of the Vandals was at length roused by the example of Zano, and the entreaties of the king. Before the army reached Tricameron, situated about twenty miles from Carthage, it amounted to ten times the number of the Romans; but Belisarius, conscious of the superior merit of his troops, permitted the barbarians to surprise him at an unseasonable hour. The Romans, however, were instantly under arms; and, till Zano fell, the conflict was obstinately maintained; but on his death the dejected Gelimer fled, and only fifty Romans and eight hundred Vandals perished in a battle which decided the fate of Africa.

Gelimer himself, attended by a few faithful adherents, was pursued to the inaccessible mountain of Papua, in the interior of Numidia

where he was immediately besieged by Pharas, one of the officers of Belisarius. After enduring unparalleled hardships, which were not unknown to Pharas, the latter dictated a friendly epistle to the unhappy Gelimer, in which he exhorted him to submit to the gracious clemency of Justinian, and the sacred assurances of Belisarius. "I am not insensible," replied the king of the Vandals, "how kind and rational is "your advice; but I cannot persuade myself to "become the slave of an unjust enemy, who has "deserved my implacable hatred. Him I had "never injured by word or deed; yet he has "sent against me, I know not from whence, a "certain Belisarius, who has cast me headlong "from the throne into this abyss of misery. Jus"tinian is a man; he is a prince; and does he "not dread for himself a similar reverse of for"tune? I can write no more. My anguish op"presses me. Send me, I beseech you, my dear "Pharas—send me a lyre, a sponge, and a loaf of "bread."

The messenger explained the motives of this extraordinary request. It was long since the king of Africa had tasted bread; incessant tears had brought a defluction on his eyes; and he wished to solace the melancholy hours, by singing to the lyre the sad story of his woes. The gifts were sent; but Pharas redoubled the vigilance of his guard; and Gelimer at last surrendering on the assurance of safety and honourable treatment, in his first interview with Belisarius burst into a fit of laughter; as if to insinuate that human grandeur and success are unworthy of a serious thought.

Belisarius was recalled by the jealousy of the

emperor, but his prompt obedience extorted the honour of a triumph. Yet from the trophies of luxury, and the wealth of nations, which adorned the procession of the victor, the eyes of the spectators were turned on Gelimer, who marched slowly along, repeating, *Vanity, vanity, all is vanity!* His misfortunes were alleviated by an ample estate, in the province of Galatia, where he retired with his family and friends, to a life of peace, of affluence, and probably of content; while the services of Belisarius were immediately rewarded with the consulship. A. D. 535.

A combination of domestick and publick injuries had alienated the minds of the Ostrogoths from their natural allies the Vandals; and the conquerors of Italy beheld with pleasure the subversion of the kingdom of Africa. But they were soon convinced of the impolicy of their conduct by the lofty language of Belisarius, who menaced, in the name of the emperor, the recovery of the provinces belonging to the former empire of Rome. A nation of two hundred thousand soldiers might have derided the haughty threats of Justinian and his lieutenant; but a spirit of discord and insubordination prevailing in Italy, it was artfully turned to the subjugation of that country once more under the power of the emperor of the East. A body of forces, strengthened by the fame of Belisarius, attacked and carried Palermo and Syracuse in Sicily; which being gained, A. D. 537.

Belisarius, leaving sufficient garrisons behind him, embarked his troops at Messina, and landed at Rhegium. With little opposition he advanced to Naples, which was strongly fortified, and well supplied with every requisite for standing a long siege; but four hundred

Romans entering the city by an aqueduct unperceived, opened the gates to their companions, and Naples became the prey of the victors.

During the siege of Naples, Theodatus, king of the Goths, had secured himself within the walls of Rome. His warlike forces soon became dissatisfied with such a feeble master, and deposing him from the government, and soon after depriving him of life, raised to the regal dignity their general Vitiges. By a singular kind of policy, the new sovereign determined to delay, till next spring, the operations of offensive war, and left Rome to its fate, which opened its gates to the lieutenant of Justinian.

Vitiges had employed the winter in recruiting his forces and assembling the distant garrisons, and now advanced to Rome, at the head of one hundred thousand fighting men. Belisarius made a sally from the city with a thousand horse, but was suddenly encompassed by the hostile squadrons, and with difficulty effected his retreat within the walls. The army of the Goths immediately formed the siege of Rome; and on the nineteenth day after, made a general assault. The contest was fiercely maintained from morning till night, when the Goths gave way on all sides, with the loss of thirty thousand slain. From this time the siege of Rome was converted into a tedious blockade, during which, the forces under the command of Belisarius suffered much from contagious diseases and scarcity; yet he still rejected with disdain the idea either of flight or capitulation. Reinforcements arriving from the east, the Goths began to be alarmed, and offered terms to the Romans; but these not being accepted, the barbarians made

another desperate attempt to storm or surprise the city; but were repelled by the intrepid vigilance of Belisarius, and soon after raised the siege, which had been protracted beyond a year.

Vitiges himself never halted till he found shelter within the walls of Ravenna; to which, and a few other fortresses, the Gothick monarchy was now reduced. Thither the active general of Justinian pursued him; but a compromise taking place, the gates of Ravenna were thrown open, and the submission of the towns and villages of Italy followed that of the capital.

A. D. 539.

The jealousy of Justinian once more recalled Belisarius, who immediately obeyed the summons. Vitiges and his consort attended him, and were honourably provided for by the emperor; but the conqueror of Italy was not allowed the well-earned honours of a second triumph: yet his virtues, his bravery, and approved loyalty, engaged the hearts of his fellow-citizens; and wherever he appeared, he attracted all eyes.

Nevertheless the fame of the hero was tarnished by the degrading tameness of the husband. His wife Antonina, who had risen from the lowest situation to be the favourite of Theodora, and had early been remarkable for the irregularity of her conduct, still continued to defile the bed, and to disgrace the character, of Belisarius. At last his friends convinced him of the infamy of his wife's behaviour, which either affection or easiness of disposition had hitherto concealed from him, and he determined to punish her; but her cause being espoused by

the empress, a forced reconciliation took place; and the effrontery of Antonina was increased by her triumph.

In the succeeding campaign, Belisarius saved the East; but violently offended Theodora and the emperor by some free and independent language, in consequence of which he was severely fined; but the dignity of his character, and the influence of his wife, soon after reinstated him in the royal favour, and he received the principal command in Italy, which was still threatened by new wars, and offered new laurels for the hero to pluck.

After a variety of negociations and hostilities, Justinian and Chosroes king of Persia, concluded a treaty, which, for fifty years, gave repose to their exhausted frontiers. He also entered into an alliance with the Ethiopians, who had occupied Arabia; but these being expelled from the continent of Asia, hastened the fall of the empire of the East; since a christian power in Arabia, must have crushed Mahomet in his cradle.

During this reign, the Lombards established themselves on the Danube; and the Sclavonians and other barbarians made such frequent and fatal inroads, that it is asserted by Procopius, no fewer than two hundred thousand inhabitants of the Roman empire were annually consumed by them.

Amidst these calamities, Europe felt the shock of a revolution, which first revealed the name and nation of the Turks. This martial people boast that their founder, like Romulus, was suckled by a wolf: and the same fable has been invented without any intermediate inter-

course, by the Latian and the Scythian shepherds. The authority of the khan of the Geougen extended over the mountains of Altai, the centre of Asia; and the Turks who inhabited that ridge of hills were compelled, for the service of their master, to forge into arms the minerals they contained. The annual ceremony, in which a piece of iron was heated in the fire, and a smith's hammer was successively handled by the prince and his nobles, recorded for ages the humble profession of the Turkish nation. Bortezena first exhorted his countrymen to use the weapons they prepared for their masters, as the instruments of freedom and victory: their valour was signalised in successful combats against the neighbouring tribes; but when their leader presumed to ask in marriage the daughter of the great khan, the demand was contemptuously rejected. A more noble alliance with a princess of China expiated this disgrace; and the subsequent defeat, and almost extirpation, of the nation of the Geougen, established in Tartary the powerful empire of the Turks. But though they reigned over the north, they remained faithfully attached to the mountain of Altai, and disdained the alluring luxury of China: in their religion, they preserved the simple practice of their ancestors. The Supreme Deity was acknowledged by the exclusive honours of sacrifice; but they also expressed their obligations to the air, the fire, the water, and the earth. Their written laws were severe and impartial: theft was punished by tenfold restitution; adultery, treachery, and murder, with death: but no chastisement could equal the inexpiable guilt of cowardice. The northern limits of the

Turkish conquests extended as far as Kamschatka; and on the south, the White Huns, who had vanquished the Persian monarch, and carried their victorious arms along the banks of the Indus, yielded to their irresistible valour. On the side of the west, they passed the lake Mæotis when frozen, and besieged the Roman city of Bosphorus; and to the east, the empire of China was continually afflicted by their destructive incursions. This extent of empire compelled the Turkish monarch to establish three subordinate princes of his own blood, who soon forgot their gratitude and allegiance: the conquerors were enervated by luxury; the vanquished nations resumed their independence; and the power of the Turks was limited to a period of two hundred years.

The nation of the Ogors, on the banks of the Til, was subdued by the Turks; their khan, with three hundred thousand of his subjects, was slain in battle: about twenty thousand surviving warriors, preferring exile to servitude, followed the road of the Volga; assumed the false but formidable name of the Avars, whose lawful proprietors had submitted to the Turkish yoke; and at the foot of Mount Caucasus, in the country of the Alani and Circassians, first heard of the splendour and weakness of the Roman empire. Their ambassador, with the permission of the governor of Zazca, was transported by the Euxine sea to Constantinople; and the improvident Justinian accepted the proffered alliance of a strange people, who readily devoted themselves to the service of the empire, but demanded in return precious gifts, annual subsidies, and fruitful possessions. By

A. D. 558.

degrees, the Turks made further encroachments; and from the moment they were admitted into an alliance with the Romans, the destiny of the eastern empire seems to have been fixed, though the catastrophe was protracted for some centuries longer.

It is impossible to give a regular account of all the important military services of Belisarius. The conqueror of Africa and Italy, on his reappointment to the command of the latter country, found the Gothick monarchy, which he had overturned, in some measure restored by the valiant and virtuous Totila. Belisarius landed with a small body of troops at the port of Ravenna, but soon discovered that the affections of the Italians were alienated from the empire, and that he was sent to remain an impotent spectator of the glory of a young barbarian. The Roman general repassed the Adriatick, and expected at Dyrrachium the arrival of the troops, which slowly assembled, and at last were inadequate to the deliverance of Rome. The Appian-way was covered by the barbarians, and the prudence of Belisarius declining a battle, he preferred the safe navigation from the coast of Epirus to the mouth of the Tiber. Rome was guarded by the valour of Bessas, who defended her walls with three thousand soldiers; but the length of the siege had occasioned all the calamities of famine, and hope had almost expired, when it was reported that Belisarius was landed at the port. The intrepid general burst through every obstacle, and the city would have been relieved, had not the wisdom of Belisarius been defeated by the misconduct of his officers: he reluctantly sounded a retreat, in order to save the only

harbour he possessed on the Tuscan coast, and Rome was left to the mercy of Totila. Bessas and his soldiers escaped by flight, and the principal inhabitants followed their governors. On the intercession of Pelagius, the archdeacon, the lives of the Romans were spared, and the chastity of the women preserved from violation; but the most precious spoils were reserved for the Gothick treasury, and the rest was abandoned to the free pillage of the soldiers. A. D. 546. One third of the city walls was thrown down by the stern command of Totila; and it was owing to the prudent remonstrances of Belisarius, who warned the Gothick monarch not to sully his fame by the destruction of those monuments which were the glory of the dead and the delight of the living, that the barbarian did not execute his threat of changing Rome into a pasture for cattle.

Totila, leaving an army of observation in the vicinity of Rome, proceeded to other conquests; on which Belisarius, sallying from the port at the head of a thousand horse, cut his way through the opposing enemy, and erected his standard on the Capitol. The walls were hastily restored; and though Totila made three general assaults, his troops were repulsed by the firmness and skill of Belisarius; and the fame of the barbarian sunk, as it had risen, with the fortune of his arms.

Belisarius, however, was called off to an inglorious warfare, intended as a disgrace, and not as an honour to him; and the credit of completing the conquest of Italy, by the defeat and death of Totila, was reserved for Narses, the eunuch, who had long been the minister of the palace.

In the procession of Narses, Rome for the last time saw the semblance of a triumph. It was soon after degraded to the second rank, and the exarchs of Ravenna filled the throne of the Gothick kings.

Antonina, who had been faithful to the fame and interests of her husband, though not to his bed, procured permission from the emperor for the return of Belisarius to Constantinople; and the declining years of his life were crowned by a last victory, in which he saved the emperor and the capital from the Bulgarians, who had passed the frozen Danube, and spread terror and consternation to the very recesses of the palace. Yet the long-tried fidelity of Belisarius could not secure him from the imputation of being implicated in a dark conspiracy against the life of his master. The hero, who in the vigour of life had rejected the fairest offers of ambition, will never be believed, in extreme old age, to have been induced to renounce his loyalty. He appeared before the council with less fear than indignation; but forty years' faithful service could not screen him from the vindictive jealousy of the emperor. His fortune was sequestered, and for several months he was guarded as a prisoner in his own palace. At length his innocence became conspicuous and acknowledged; and his death probably hastened by chagrin, about eight months afterwards, delivered him from the ingratitude of his master. Such was the fate of Belisarius: that he was deprived of his eyes, and reduced to beg his bread, is a fiction derived from a monk of the twelfth century.

A few months after the death of Belisarius, Justinian also died, in the eighty-third year of his

age; and though his fame is eclipsed by the superior lustre of his general, yet the review of the Roman jurisprudence in the *code*, the *pandects*, and the *institutes*, is a noble monument of his spirit and industry. The domestick institutions of Europe acknowledge the publick reason of the Romans; and the laws of Justinian still command the respect and obedience of independent nations: even his enemies confess that he was chaste, temperate, vigilant, and studious. His design of the African and the Italian wars was boldly conceived, and ably executed; and his penetration discovered the talents of Belisarius in the camp, and of Narses in the council, though he wanted the generosity to reward them. He adorned the principal towns of the empire with splendid buildings; and the church of St. Sophia, now converted into a Turkish mosque, still remains to excite the admiration of the world.

But though Justinian was not destitute of great and even of some amiable qualities, the age in which he reigned was unfortunate; his subjects were incessantly afflicted by the ravages of war, pestilence, and famine; and although it was not in his power altogether to cause or prevent those awful visitations, he lived without being beloved, and died without being regretted. The majesty of the empire, however, shone out for a short time under his auspices; but at his death it was eclipsed, and disappeared for ever.

History, indeed, at this period presents nothing but a continuous series of disasters and miseries which it is painful to trace. Writers who engage in this career, and readers who follow them, walk amidst assassins and executioners,

without scarcely finding objects less dreadful on which they may rest their eye. We shall, therefore, pass over these scenes of horror with rapidity; and if we represent the catastrophe of princes, without entering much into the detail of the miseries of the people, the reader will bear in his remembrance, that the storm which roots up the sheltering oak, must frequently sweep away the humble shrubs.

On the death of Justinian, the succession of the empire menaced the repose of its subjects. Seven nephews of the emperor, who was himself childless, had been educated with splendour, and might expect with equal hopes the inheritance of their uncle. At the hour of midnight, Justin, the son of Vigilantia, sister to Justinian, was awakened by the principal members of the senate, who announced the emperor's decease, and reported the dying choice of the prince on whom they waited. By the advice of his wife Sophia, Justin submitted to the authority of the senate; and being conducted with speed to the palace, was invested with the imperial ornaments. Four youths then exalted him on a shield to receive the homage of his subjects; and their choice was sanctified by the benediction of the patriarch, who placed the diadem on his head;—the first time this ceremony had been performed by a priest. In the speeches of Justin the younger, so called to distinguish him from a predecessor of the same name, he promised to correct the abuses of his uncle, whose debts he immediately discharged with unexpected generosity; and the hopeless creditors accepted the equitable payment as a gratuity. His example was followed by Sophia, whose liberality

A. D. 565.

relieved many indigent citizens from the weight of debt and usury.

Soon after Justin ascended the throne, the Lombards, under the gallant Alboin, established themselves in Italy, and gave a permanent name to a portion of that country. A. D. 568. In five months after the departure of Alboin from Pannonia, Milan was invested by his forces; and from the Tarentine hills to the gates of Ravenna and Rome, the inland parts of Italy submitted without a siege or a battle; but before he had time to regulate his conquests, he was taken off by the revenge of Rosamond his queen, which he had justly provoked, by commanding her to drink out of the skull of her father Cunimund.

The annals of the second Justin are marked with disgrace abroad, and misery at home. The Roman empire was afflicted by the loss of Italy, the desolation of Africa, and the conquests of the Persians. The capital and the provinces were exhausted by the venality of the magistrates and the injustice of the governors. The sentiments of the emperor seem to have been pure and benevolent; but his faculties were impaired by disease; and in the confinement of his palace, he was a stranger to the wrongs of the people. His only son had died in his infancy, and his daughter was married to Baduarius, the superintendant of the palace; but from domestick jealousy or animosity, he was determined to seek an immediate successor, not in his family but in the republick. The artifices of Sophia determined his choice in favour of Tiberius, the captain of the guard, who was elevated to the imperial dignity, in the presence of the A. D. 574.

patriarch and the senate. On this occasion, Justin, collecting all the energies both of his body and mind; after advising Tiberius to consult the experience rather than the practice of his predecessor, and to respect the empress as his mother, he concluded with, "Love the people as your-"self; cultivate the affections, maintain the disci-"pline, of the army; protect the fortunes of the "rich, and relieve the necessities of the poor." The assembly, in tears, applauded the counsels of their prince, who in the moment of his abdication seemed worthy to reign. The four last years of his life were spent in tranquillity; and the reverence and gratitude of Tiberius justified the choice he had made.

The beauty of Tiberius had recommended him to Sophia, who, after the death of Justin, hoped to preserve her station and influence under a more youthful husband; but the new emperor had for some time been secretly married to Anastasia; and when the clamours of the Hippodrome were loud for an empress, Tiberius produced his lawful wife. The disappointment to Sophia could not be atoned for by every honour due to her rank, and every favour which Tiberius could bestow. She immediately commenced her intrigues against him, by attempting to raise to the purple Justinian, who had been appointed commander of the Persian armies. But the design being discovered before it was ripe for execution, Sophia was deprived of that wealth which she had abused, and her person committed to the custody of a faithful guard. The services of Justinian, in the mind of the excellent Tiberius, outweighed his treason and ingratitude; and he was merely stript of his com-

mand, which was conferred on Maurice, a native of Cappadocia, and an excellent general; who also obtained in marriage Constantia, the daughter of the emperor.

Tiberius was humane, just, temperate, and brave; and his subjects contemplated with pleasure the virtues of their sovereign. But, unhappily for mankind, in less than four years after the death of Justin, he fell into a mortal disease, which left him only sufficient time to bestow the diadem on his son-in-law Maurice, and to express his hope that the virtues of his successor would erect the noblest mausoleum to his memory.

Maurice ascended the throne at the age of forty-three, and reigned twenty years over the East, amidst almost continual turbulence; yet he was endued with sense and courage to promote the happiness of his people, and in his administration he followed the model of Tiberius. A. D. 582.

Rome, assailed by the Lombards and afflicted with famine, implored the assistance of Maurice. By his influence several formidable chiefs were persuaded to embrace the friendship of the Romans; the passes of the Alps were delivered to the Franks; and Childibert, the grandson of Clovis, was allured to invade Italy by the payment of fifty pieces of gold. A feeble co-operation on the part of the imperial troops produced some political changes; but during a period of two hundred years, Italy was unequally divided between the kingdom of the Lombards, and the exarchate of Ravenna. The full remains of civil, military, and even of ecclesiastical power, were united in eighteen successive exarchs,

whose territory was of considerable extent: the rest of Italy was possessed by the Lombards; but the three islands of Sardinia, Corsica, and Sicily, still adhered to the eastern empire.

Towards the close of the sixth century, Rome, now a dependant on the exarch of Ravenna, was reduced to the lowest stage of her depression. The hostile approach of the Lombards was often felt, and continually feared. The distressed inhabitants opened and shut the gates with trembling hands; and beheld from the walls their houses on fire, and their brethren dragged into distant slavery. The once magnificent edifices of the capital of nations were mouldering into dust; and Rome probably might have been, like Babylon, Thebes, or Carthage, without a monument to mark its scite, had it not been preserved by religious veneration for the pretended successors of St. Peter, in the place where he had suffered martyrdom.

Under the reign of Maurice, Gregory the First filled the papal throne. His birth and abilities had raised him to the office of præfect of the city when he renounced his station, and dedicated his fortune to the foundation of monasteries. His virtues rendered him dear to the church; and from the gloom of a cell he was called, by the unanimous voice of the clergy, to the chair of St. Peter. The bishops of Italy and the adjacent islands acknowledged the Roman pontiff as their special metropolitan; and his successful claims on the provinces of Greece, of Spain, and of Gaul, might well countenance the more lofty pretensions of succeeding popes. As a christian bishop he preferred the salutary offices of peace to success in war, however great; and presumed

to save his country without the consent, either of the emperor or the exarch. His merits were treated by the Byzantine court with reproach and insult; but he found the best right of a sovereign, and the purest reward of a citizen, in the attachment of a grateful people.

Maurice successfully engaged in the politicks of Persia, but was harassed by the warlike and audacious Avars, under Baian the chagan, who occupied the rustick palace of Attila, and appears to have imitated his policy. During the reign of Maurice, frequent and furious seditions had agitated the camps both in Europe and Asia; and the mild indulgence of the emperor, served only to discover to the soldiers their own strength, and his weakness. The army beyond the Danube had been commanded to establish their winter quarters in the hostile country of the Avars: their private murmurs on this occasion, were soon converted into open rage; they voted Maurice unfit to reign; and, under the command of a centurion, named Phocas, they returned by rapid marches into the vicinity of Constantinople.

The emperor might still have escaped the impending danger, could he have relied on the fidelity of the capital; but his rigid virtues had long alienated the affections of the inhabitants. In a nocturnal tumult the lawless city was abandoned to every species of rapine and licentiousness: the unfortunate Maurice, with his wife and nine children, escaped in a small boat to St. Autonomus, near Chalcedon, and from thence urged his eldest son Theodosius to implore the gratitude and protection of the Persian monarch. On his abdication, Constantinople opened her gates to Phocas, who entered the

city amidst the usual acclamations to fortunate power. His jealousy combining with the cruelty of his disposition, soon prompted him to dispatch the ministers of death to Chalcedon: they dragged the emperor from his sanctuary, and murdered his five sons one after the other before his eyes. Maurice bore this agonising sight with heroick fortitude and resignation; repeating at every wound, while the tears trickled down his cheeks, the words of the prophet David, "Thou "art just, O Lord! in all thy judgments." His rigid attachment to honour revealed even the generous falsehood of a nurse, who presented her own child in the place of a royal infant. The tragick scene was closed with the execution of the emperor himself, who fell on the dead bodies of his children, at the age of sixty-three.

Of the family of Phocas, or that of his wife Leontia, nothing is known. He was of a middling stature, deformed, and of a fierce countenance; his hair was red, and he had a scar on one cheek, which became black when inflamed with anger. Sanguinary and inexorable, he was addicted both to wine and women; while his wife's character was nearly as base as his own.—Against the unhappy family of the late emperor, he continued to exercise his barbarity; and under pretence of their holding a correspondence with some conspirators, a conduct which they had abundant provocation to justify, he caused the empress Constantina and her three daughters to be executed on the same spot where her husband and sons had suffered three years before. Theodosius, the eldest son, had been intercepted in his flight to the Persian court, and instantly beheaded; but though the legal claimants to

the throne were extirpated, Phocas was never free from the danger of plots. Numerous victims were sacrificed to his fears and jealousies: some expired under the lash, others in the flames; for death, in its simple form, was an indulgence which the tyrant would rarely allow.

To a man who held nothing sacred, even services were crimes, and relationship a misfortune. His capricious cruelty at last knew no bounds: both in publick and private he was the object of horror; and the standard of rebellion was ready to be erected in every province of the empire, when Heraclius, the son of a governor of Africa of the same name, was prevailed on to deliver the earth from such a monster. The ships of Heraclius steered their triumphant course through the Propontis; his cause was espoused by troops who poured in from all parts of the empire; and the tyrant attempting to fly was seized, loaded with chains and transported in a small boat on board the galley of Heraclius, who beginning to reproach him with his crimes, Phocas calmly answered, "Do you endeavour to govern "better." After suffering every variety of insult and torture, which he had too long and too often inflicted on others, his head was separated from his body, and his trunk cast into the flames.

Heraclius ascended the throne with the voice of the clergy, the senate, and the people. He was of a noble family, had a majestick appearance, and was well versed in war, a science which was extremely necessary, when the empire was assailed on all sides by powerful and implacable enemies. A. D. 610.

Chosroes, king of Persia, after the melan-

choly fate of his friend Maurice, disclaimed all connexion with the usurper, and declared himself the avenger of his benefactor. An impostor, who attended his camp as the son of Maurice, and lawful heir of the Roman empire, afforded a decent apology for the submission of several capital cities of the East.

The first intelligence which Heraclius received was the loss of Antioch; Cæsarea next yielded to the Persians, and, after a short repose, Jerusalem fell under their power: Egypt itself, which had been exempted from war since the time of Dioclesian, was again subdued by the successor of Cyrus; and for the space of ten years a Persian camp was maintained in the presence of Constantinople. But while Chosroes contemplated, with a vain delight, his wealth and power, he received an epistle from an obscure citizen of Mecca, inviting him to acknowledge Mahomet as the prophet of God. The Persian tore the letter with contempt; and Mahomet for once predicted the truth in exclaiming, "It is thus that God will tear the kingdom, "and reject the supplications of Chosroes."

A. D. 614.

Had the invasion of Chosroes been undertaken from motives of respect for the memory or family of Maurice, his hostile measures ought to have terminated with the life of Phocas; but the prosecution of the war revealed the true character of the barbarian; and while his arms subdued Syria, Egypt, and the Roman provinces of Asia, Europe, from the confines of Istria to the long wall of Thrace, was ravaged by the ferocious Avars. The eastern empire at this time was reduced to the walls of Constantinople, with the remnant of Greece, Italy, and Africa, and

a few maritime cities of Asia. Heraclius himself, hopeless of relief, meditated to transfer the seat of his government to Carthage; but being dissuaded by the patriarch, he bound himself at the altar of St. Sophia, to live and die with the people whom God had intrusted to his care.

From the treacherous reconciliation of the chagan of the Avars, Heraclius was saved only by the fleetness of his horse: while Chosroes, who had menaced, "that he would never give peace to the emperor of Rome till he had abjured his religion, and embraced the worship of the sun," was at last prevailed on to relinquish the conquest of Constantinople for an annual tribute of a thousand talents of gold, a thousand talents of silver, a thousand silk robes, a thousand horses, and a thousand virgins.

The interval allowed for collecting the treasures was sedulously employed by Heraclius in preparations for war; but the exhausted state of the provinces compelled him to borrow the consecrated wealth of the churches, under the solemn vow of restoring, with usury, whatever he had been reduced to expend in the cause of religion and the empire. New levies were allured by the holy gold from every country of the East and West. Two hundred thousand pieces of gold were devoted to conciliate the friendship, or suspend the hostilities, of the chagan; and two days after the festival of Easter, the emperor assumed the martial garb, and gave the signal of his departure. To the discretion of the patriarch and senate, he intrusted the discretionary power of saving or surrendering the city according to the imperious circumstances which might arise in his absence.

After a tempestuous voyage, Heraclius landed his troops on the confines of Syria and Cilicia. His camp was pitched near Issus, on the same ground where Alexander vanquished the host of Darius. The patience of the emperor was severely tried in restoring the discipline and perfecting the exercises of his soldiers; but whatever hardships he imposed on his troops, he inflicted with honourable impartiality on himself; and from hence the Romans began to repose a due confidence in their own valour, and the wisdom of their commander.

The Persian troops who had advanced towards Cilicia, by the artful evolutions of Heraclius, were drawn into a general engagement; and the event of the day proved that they were no longer invincible. Animated by fame and victory, the emperor of the East directed his march through the plains of Cappadocia, and established the winter quarters of his army on the banks of the Halys, but returned himself to Constantinople.

Next spring he sailed with a select band of five thousand soldiers, and landed at Trebisond.—The Armenians readily embraced the cause of the christian champion; a bridge was thrown over the Araxes, and Heraclius advanced towards the city of Tauris. Chosroes in person retired at the approach of the Roman emperor, and declined the generous alternative of peace or a battle.

After wintering in Albania, Heraclius appears to have followed the chain of the Hyrcanian mountains, and to have carried his victorious arms as far as the cities of Casbin and Ispahan.

Chosroes, however, collecting his scattered forces from the most distant provinces of his do-

minions, surrounded the camp of the Romans, and three hostile and formidable armies appalled the bravest officers in the army of Heraclius. But the emperor himself remained undaunted, and by repeated successful attacks drove the Persians from the field into the fortified cities of Media and Assyria. A number of satraps with their wives, and the flower of their martial youth, were either slain or made prisoners.

Constantinople had already felt the success of Heraclius by the retreat of the besiegers; and the senate was now informed that the Roman army, laden with spoils, halted under the walls of Amida. The emperor passed the Euphrates, while his enemies retired behind the Sarus. The impetuous course of that river, though the banks were lined with barbarians, could not check the progress of Heraclius, who, after a triumphant expedition of three years, returned to the coast of the Euxine.

The resources of Chosroes, however, were not yet exhausted, nor his ambition extinguished. He raised three powerful armies, one of which was directed to besiege Constantinople in concert with the chagan of the Avars. After a month spent in fruitless negociations, the whole city was invested, and it was in vain that the inhabitants endeavoured to purchase the retreat of the chagan; but a seasonable reinforcement of twelve thousand men being sent by Heraclius, and the provisions of the enemy beginning to fail, they were reluctantly compelled to give the signal of retreat. A. D. 626.

In short, after experiencing numerous other defeats, Chosroes was taken off by a conspiracy, at the head of which was his own son, who,

however, enjoyed the fruits of his crimes only eight months; and Heraclius, after the exploits of six glorious campaigns, returned in triumph to his capital. But while he enjoyed the acclamations of his subjects, an obscure town on the frontiers of Syria was pillaged by the Saracens: some troops sent to its relief were cut in pieces, and this occurrence, though apparently so trifling in itself, was the prelude of a mighty revolution. These banditti were the disciples of Mahomet, whose apostles were all warriors, and who, emerging from the desert, in less than eight years acquired by the sword those provinces which had been recovered from the Persians by the valour of Heraclius.

During the reign of this emperor, indeed, the doctrines and victories of Mahomet rapidly engaged the publick attention; and as the rise and progress of the Arabian prophet involve the causes of the decline and fall of the empire of the East, it will be proper to give a brief history of the man.

Mahomet, sprung from the tribe of Koreish, was the only son of Abdallah and Amina. He was born at Mecca four years after the death of Justinian; and becoming an orphan in his infancy, his uncle, Abu Taleb, assumed the office of his guardian. In his twenty-fifth year he entered into the service of Cadijah, a rich widow of Mecca, who bestowed on him her hand and fortune. By this alliance he became respectable, and continued in the practice of domestick virtue, till, in the fortieth year of his age, he assumed the title of a prophet, and proclaimed the religion of the Koran.

To the advantages of a good person, Maho-

met added a capacious mind, and a retentive memory; an easy social wit, and a lively imagination. He was fluent in speech when occasion required, but most frequently adhered to the grave and ceremonious silence of his country. Yet with all his natural accomplishments, he had never been instructed in the arts of reading or writing; nor had he seen more of the world than what could be gleaned at the fairs of Bosra and Damascus. From his earliest youth, however, he had been addicted to religious contemplation, and each year, during the month of Ramadan, he withdrew to the cave of Hera, three miles from Mecca; and at length delivered, under the name of Islam, that faith, which is compounded of an eternal truth and a daring fiction, "That there is only one God, and that Mahomet is his prophet." Yet Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ, are allowed to have made successive revelations to mankind; but the Koran was designated as the last and final dispensation of the Almighty.

The chapters and verses of this book were pretended to have been gradually revealed by the angel Gabriel to the Arabian impostor, according as policy or passion dictated; and the whole, without order or connexion, was thrown into a chest, from whence it was taken and published two years after the death of the prophet, by Abubeker his successor. The sayings and actions of Mahomet have also been preserved by his wives and companions; and at the end of two hundred years, the sonna or oral law was compiled and fixed.

As often as the Arabian prophet was pressed to give some sign of his miraculous powers, his

answers were always expressive of weakness and vexation; and he involved himself in the obscure boast of vision and revelation; yet his deluded followers record many miracles which attended him, but the gravest of the Musselmen place no stress on such legends.

The first proselytes of Mahomet were Cadijah his wife, Zeid his servant, Ali his pupil, and Abubeker his friend. In the silent labours of three years, the number was increased to fourteen; and in the fourth year he publicly assumed the prophetick office. But his incredulous countrymen in general rejecting his mission, a conspiracy was formed against him, the object of which was to take him off by assassination; but Mahomet having timely notice of the design, contrived to escape to Medina, which has fixed the memorable æra of the hegira or flight.

A. D. 622.

We cannot in this place follow Mahomet through the future revolutions of his fortune. Suffice it to say, that he was no less distinguished as a warrior than as the founder of a new religion; and that the sword made more converts to the prophet than the pretended authority under which he acted.

The strength of Mahomet, till the age of sixty-three years, was equal to the fatigues of his mission; but during the last four years his health declined, and he seriously believed he was poisoned at Chaibar, by the revenge of a Jewish female. A fever of fourteen days deprived him, at intervals, of the use of his reason: conscious of his danger, he beheld with firmness the approach of death; he enfranchised his slaves; directed the order of his funeral; and mode-

rated the lamentations of his friends. He had asserted, in familiar conversation, that the angel of death was not allowed to take his soul till he had respectfully asked the permission of the prophet; that permission was granted, and Mahomet immediately fell into the agony of dissolution; he reclined his head on the lap of Ayesha, the daughter of Abubeker, and the best beloved of his wives; and raising his eyes towards the roof of the house, uttered these broken but articulate words:—"O God! pardon my sins—Yes, I come among my fellow-citizens on high;" and peaceably breathed his last on a carpet on the floor. He was interred on the same spot on which he expired; and the tomb of the prophet at Medina vies, in the opinion of the pilgrim, with the sanctity of the temple at Mecca. A. D. 632.

Though Mahomet, from the indulgence of polygamy, might reasonably expect a numerous progeny, yet his hopes were disappointed. The four sons of Cadijah died in their infancy; and the eleven wives who succeeded to her bed, proved barren in his embraces. Ibrahim, the offspring of Mary, his Egyptian concubine, survived only fifteen months; and of the four daughters by Cadijah, the three eldest were married and died before their father: but Fatima the fourth, who possessed his love and confidence, became the wife of her cousin Ali, and the mother of an illustrious progeny.

Heraclius was not deficient in courage and ability against the rising power of Mahomet; but he neither felt that enthusiasm, nor could communicate it to others, which his rival did; and seems to have remitted his attention to the

security of the empire, at a time when it was most required.

After the death of his first wife Eudocia, Heraclius had contracted an incestuous marriage with his niece Martina. The superstition of the Greeks beheld the judgment of Heaven in the diseases of the father, and the deformity of his offspring. Constantine, his eldest son, enjoyed the title of Augustus, but the weakness of his constitution requiring a colleague, Heracleonas, the son of Martina, was associated to the purple. Heraclius survived this arrangement only two years, and by his last will declared his two sons the equal heirs of the empire of the East.

A. D. 641.

The dying emperor, who at one period of his life was equal to the greatest generals of antiquity, having enjoined his sons, by his last publick act, to honour Martina as their mother and sovereign, that ambitious woman immediately assumed the ensigns of royalty; but was speedily compelled to descend from the throne, by the unanimous decision of the people, who considered a woman as unfit to be trusted with the reins of government; and accordingly she found it expedient to retire to the female apartments of the palace. The death of Constantine, however, which happened in the thirtieth year of his age, and the first of his reign, not without the suspicion of poison, revived the aspiring hopes of Martina. She again resumed the management of the helm of state; but the incestuous relict of Heraclius was universally abhorred, and the exertions of her son, then only fifteen years of age, in her favour, were alike disregarded. Heraclius, it seems, suspecting some intrigues, on his

death-bed had dispatched a trusty servant, named Valentin, to arm the troops and provinces of the East, in defence of his two helpless children. This person performed the delegated trust with success; and from the camp of Chalcedon, he demanded the punishment of those who had poisoned Constantine, and insisted on the restoration of the lawful heir to the empire. On this the citizens of Constantinople compelled Heracleonas to appear in the pulpit of St. Sophia, with the eldest of the royal orphans. Constans alone being saluted as emperor, he was immediately crowned with the solemn benediction of the patriarch. His rival did not attempt to resist the voice of the people; but the senate, in concert with all ranks and degrees in the state, were determined to put an end to the intrigues of Martina and her son: they condemned the former to lose her tongue, and the latter his nose; and after this cruel amputation, they were permitted to linger out their days in exile and oblivion.

CHAP. XXVII.

From the death of Heraclius to the first Crusade.

A. D. 641. CONSTANS ascended the throne when only twelve years old; and the early respect which he had shown to the senate, was quickly erased by the prejudices of the age, and the habits of despotism. He viewed his brother Theodosius, whose virtues made him entirely beloved by the people, with jealous and malignant eyes; and causing him to be ordained a deacon, received the sacred chalice from his hands: yet even this disqualification for the purple could not allay the apprehensions of Constans, who soon after procured the unhappy youth to be put to death. But the imprecations of the people pursued the royal assassin; while his crime being succeeded by the most dreadful remorse, he perpetually imagined that he beheld his murdered brother extending him a cup of blood, to quench that thirst with which he was continually tormented. To fly from so terrifying an object, as well as to retire from the detestation of his people, he left Constantinople, and, after passing a winter at Athens, he sailed to Tarentum, visited Rome, and then fixed his principal residence at Syracuse. But his steps were attended by conscious guilt, and the visionary shade of Theodosius incessantly obtruded itself on his distempered view. Like another Cain, he wandered from place to place, without finding peace or

quiet in any; nor could his increasing wars against the Saracens and Lombards dispel the illusions of his fancy. But notwithstanding his sufferings from this cause, which it might have been supposed would have softened his heart, he governed the empire in the most tyrannical manner, and was equally detestable for his avarice as for his other crimes. The former he carried to such a pitch, as to rob the churches of their richest ornaments and their consecrated vessels.

Thus, odious to himself and to mankind, he perished in the capital of Sicily by domestick treason, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. A servant who attended him in the bath, after pouring warm water on his head, struck him violently with the vase: he fell stunned by the blow, and was suffocated in the water. The troops in Sicily hastily invested with the purple an obscure youth, the elegance of whose form seems to have been his only recommendation.

Constans, however, having left three sons in the Byzantine court, the cause of Constantine the eldest was readily embraced by his subjects, who contributed with zeal and alacrity to chastise the presumption of a province which had usurped the legitimate rights of the senate and people. The emperor sailed from the Hellespont with a powerful fleet, and quickly defeating the upstart, caused his beauteous head to be exposed in the hippodrome.

Constantine returned in triumph to his capital, and the appearance of his beard having taken place during the Sicilian voyage, he obtained the familiar appellation of Pogonatus, by which he is distinguished in history from others of the same name.

In this emperor's reign, and forty-six years after the flight of Mahomet from Mecca, the disciples of that impostor appeared under the walls of Constantinople. The prophet had asserted, that the sins of the first army which besieged the city, should be forgiven; and the caliph Moawiyah was impatient by this meritorious expedition to expiate the guilt of civil blood. His standard was intrusted to Sophian, a veteran warrior; and the troops were animated by the presence of Yezid, the son and presumptive heir of the commander of the faithful. The fleet of the Saracens passed through the unguarded channel of the Hellespont, and the troops were disembarked near the palace of Hebdomon, seven miles from the city. They approached with confidence of success: but the solid and lofty walls of Constantinople were guarded by numbers of well-disciplined troops; and the Arabs were dismayed by the strange and prodigious effects of artificial fire *. This un-

* The deliverance of Constantinople both on this and a future occasion, may be principally ascribed to the terrors and efficacy of the wild fire of the Greeks. From the obscure hints of the Byzantine writers, it should seem, that the principal ingredient was naptha, or liquid bitumen; this was mingled with sulphur and pitch extracted from green firs. Sand, urine, or vinegar, were the only remedies that could damp the fury of this powerful agent, which was nourished and quickened by the element of water, and was therefore justly denominated by the Greeks, the *liquid* or the *maritime* fire. For four hundred years the secret of the composition was confined, by the most jealous precautions, to the Romans of the East. It was at length discovered and stole by the Mahometans, and was continued to be used in war down to the middle of the fourteenth century, when gunpowder, a compound of nitre, sulphur, and charcoal, effected a new revolution in the

expected resistance diverted their arms to the more easy spoil of the adjacent country; and on the approach of winter, they retreated to the isle of Cyzicus, fourscore miles from the capital, where they had established their magazines of plunder and provisions. Reiterated defeats could not overcome their patient perseverance: they repeated the six following summers the same attack and retreat, till the gradual loss of thirty thousand Moslems compelled them to relinquish the fruitless enterprise.

The event of the siege raised the reputation of the Roman arms: the Greek ambassadors were favourably received at Damascus; a truce of thirty years was concluded between the two empires; and the commander of the reputed faithful was reduced to submit to the annual tribute of fifty horses, fifty slaves, and three thousand pieces of gold. During the revolt of Arabia and Persia, the tribute was afterwards very considerably increased; but no sooner had Abdamalek reunited again the empire, than he disdained the badge of servitude, and discontinued the tribute, which the future emperors of the East were unable to enforce. A. D. 677.

Though success had attended Pogonatus against the Mahometans, his reign was disturbed by fraternal discord. On his two brothers Heraclius and Tiberius, he had bestowed the title of Augustus; and not satisfied with this, they demanded also a partition of the sovereignty.—Their adherents were punished; and the un-

military art. The Greek fire, however, is not unknown to some chemists of the present age; but it seems discarded from promoting the means of human destruction, by the unanimous consent of all nations.

grateful brothers were pardoned; but a repetition of the same offence deprived the princes of their titles and their noses.

Towards the close of his life, Pogonatus was anxious to establish the right of primogeniture, which, in the succession of princes, has averted so much misery and prevented so many crimes. On the shrine of St. Peter he offered the hair of his two sons, Justinian and Heraclius, as a symbol of their spiritual adoption by the pope; but the elder was alone exalted to the rank of Augustus and the assurance of the empire. After a just and pious reign of seventeen years, Pogonatus died of a decline, and was succeeded by his son Justinian the Second.

A.D. 685.

This prince, who ascended the throne in the seventeenth year of his age, by his youthful vices disgraced the name of the celebrated legislator, which he bore. For ten years he enjoyed the sufferings and braved the revenge of his subjects: his conduct was a tissue of inconsistencies, and his life was exposed to every vicissitude of fortune. He marched against the Bulgarians, and was put to flight; he compelled the Sclavonians to retreat before him; and, in his turn, himself fled before the Saracens. He knew he was detested by the people for his cruel and haughty government; and that he might avenge himself on them, and show how well their enmity was deserved, he ordered a general massacre of the inhabitants of Constantinople, to take place in the night. Leontius, a general of reputation, who had formerly commanded the troops of the East, after lying three years in prison, was just set at liberty, and had received as an atonement for his captivity the government of Greece. He was just about to set off for his new appointment, and observed

with a sigh, that death would attend his footsteps; when his friends exhorted him to deliver the city from the calamities with which it was menaced, assuring him that two hundred thousand patriots expected only the voice of a leader. Leontius, therefore, putting himself at the head of the troops confided to him for the purpose of his government, proceeded directly to the palace, forced open the prisons, and slew the præfect. Justinian himself was dragged into the hyppodrome, where the clamours of the people demanded his instant death; but the pity of Leontius preserved the son of his benefactor: the amputation of his nose was rather attempted than effectually performed; and he was banished to the lonely settlement of Chersonæ in Crim Tartary.

The patriarch immediately proclaimed Leontius, and seated him on the imperial throne. His reign, however, was of short duration; for one of his generals, Apsimar by name, who afterwards adopted that of Tiberius, conspiring against him, deposed Leontius, cut off his nose, and banished him to a monastery in Dalmatia.

Tiberius gained important advatages over the Saracens; and might have reigned in peace, had he not regarded with terror the exiled Justinian and in consequence made an attempt on his life. From the dangerous shore to which he had been banished, with a band of desperate followers, the royal fugitive escaped to the horde of the Chozars, who had pitched their tents between the Tanais and the Borysthenes. The khan received him with respect, and bestowed on him his sister Theodora, with some revenues to subsist on. But the barbarian being soon tempted by the gold of Constantinople, meditated to assassinate Justinian, and probably would have effected his pur-

pose, had it not been betrayed by the affection of Theodora. The son of Pogonatus being thus prepared, strangled the emissaries of the khan with his own hands, sent back Theodora to her brother, and embarked on the Euxine, in search of new allies. His vessel was assaulted by a violent tempest; and one of his more pious companions exhorted him to deserve the mercy of God by a vow of forgiveness, in case he should be restored to the throne. "Of forgiveness!" replied the undaunted tyrant; "may I perish this "instant—may the Almighty whelm me in the "waves, if I consent to spare a single head of "my enemies!" He landed on the mouth of the Danube; retired to the Bulgarians; and purchased by splendid promises the aid of Terbelis, a pagan prince. The two confederates besieged Constantinople with sixteen thousand horse. Apsimar was daunted by the sudden appearance of his rival: the misfortunes of their hereditary sovereign excited the pity of the multitude, and made them forget his crimes; and Justinian was once more seated on the throne of the Cæsars.

The restored monarch first took care to reward his ally Terbelis, and then to gratify his vengeance, which he had nourished even amidst the storms of the Euxine. So vindictive was his rage, and so barbarous his disposition, that he stood an hour on the necks of Leontius and Apsimar, before he suffered their execution to proceed. During the six years of his new reign, the rack, the axe, and the cord, were incessantly employed. The inhabitants of the Chersones were peculiarly destined to feel his vengeance, for not having paid the respect due to him when in exile, as well as from a suspicion he entertained of their having had an intention of delivering him up to

Tiberius. These were ordered by the inhuman tyrant to be indiscriminately massacred; and the messengers of blood were forbidden, on pain of the imperial displeasure, to leave even a child alive. The difficulty of fulfilling this dreadful command, and the fear of being punished for not complying with it, induced the soldiers to proclaim their general Philippicus. The tyrant, deserted by his barbarian guards, received without dread the mortal stroke, and the death of his son Tiberius extinguished the family of Heraclius, who had wore the purple for a hundred years. This monster seems to have possessed a species of ferocious insanity, and was on that account equally formidable to his friends and his foes. On very slight grounds he declared war against Terbelis, who had restored him to the throne; and at last his cause was so infamous as to be abandoned by his very brother-in-law, the khan of the Chozars.

Philippicus abused, during more than two years, the authority he had acquired by the death of the tyrant; and under him the arms of the empire were not fortunate. The Bulgarians made an irruption into Thrace, and advanced as far as Constantinople. The indolence of the emperor, who busied himself about religious affairs, to the neglect of his publick duty, rendered him an object of contempt; and the people learned without the smallest emotion or mark of dissatisfaction, that, during a state of intoxication, some conspirators had surprised, blinded, and deposed him, while he reposed in his own palace.

The voice of the people now promoted Artemius, first secretary to the late emperor; and under the name of Anastasius A. D. 713.

he assumed the imperial ornaments; but as he was conscious of his ignorance in the military art, and was more distinguished as a politician than a man of courage, he placed Leo, a native of Isauria, who was an able general, at the head of his troops.

In the reign of Anastasius, the second siege of Constantinople by the Mahometans, under the caliph Soliman, commenced. The emperor conceived the design of burning the naval stores of the enemy, and thus defeating the enterprise about to be undertaken; but his aims were frustrated by the treachery of the marine army, who murdered their chief, and invested Theodosius, a simple officer of revenue, with the purple. Leo came to the assistance of his master, and, without striking a blow, induced Theodosius to lay down his usurped authority, and sink into the insignificance of the cloister, as the only security for his life. Moslemah, however, the brother of the caliph, could not be prevented by Leo from investing the capital with an army of one hundred and twenty thousand Arabs and Persians; while a hostile fleet of eighteen hundred ships appeared before the mouth of the harbour. But while they hesitated about entering it, the fireships of the Greeks were launched against them; and in a few hours this mighty armament, which threatened destruction to the Roman name, was reduced to ashes. The death of the caliph Soliman, was still a more severe and fatal loss to the besiegers; for his successor Omar was a scrupulous and inactive bigot. The investment, however, was continued through the winter rather by his neglect than resolution: the season proved uncommonly rigorous; the natives of the burning climes of Egypt and Arabia lay

almost lifeless in their frozen camp; disease and famine too had entered their tents, and after a protracted siege of thirteen months, the despondingMoslemah received from his master the welcome permission of retreat.

Leo finding his ascendant both over the empire and the emperor, negociated with Anastasius to resign the crown, as a burthen too heavy for him, and to retire to the enjoyment of a private life. With the affluent fortune which he carried with him, he might have been happier than on the throne; but goaded on by ambition, he attempted to resume the dignity he had laid down by his own consent; and his life paid the forfeit of his folly.

The primitive name of Leo, who obtained the purple on the resignation of Anastasius, was Conon. His first service was in the guards of Justinian; and his valour and dexterity gradually raised him to the principal com- A D. mand of the armies, from whence by an 718. easy transition, he mounted the throne.

In his reign the empire of the East lost even its shadow of authority in Italy, which passed under the power of the Lombards; while Rome gave herself up to the temporal as well as the spiritual domination of the pope. These revolutions were chiefly produced and ultimately confirmed by the dispute concerning image worship, which so fiercely agitated the christian world during the eighth and ninth centuries, and which it may not be uninteresting to review.

The primitive Christians were possessed with an unconquerable repugnance to the use and abuse of images; but under the successors of Constantine, the bishops indulged the ignorant

multitude with a visible superstition. The first introduction of symbolick worship was in the veneration of the cross and of relicts. The son of God was next represented under the form which it was supposed he had assumed while on earth; and the Virgin Mary soon claimed and obtained a similar distinction.

The worship of images, however, had stolen into the church by insensible degrees, and was little noticed for a great length of time; but in the beginning of the eighth century, when it had reached the full magnitude of abuse, the Greeks were awakened by the apprehension, that, under the mask of christianity, they had restored the polytheism of their fathers. It was with impatience they heard themselves charged as idolators by the Jews and Mahometans, who had an implacable hatred to graven images, and all relative worship. Many sensible christians began to express their disapprobation of these symbols, which exposed them to obloquy, and could not possibly be reconciled to the genuine unperverted tenets of their holy religion; and when Leo, from the mountains of Isauria, had ascended the throne of the East, he was early inspired with an hatred of images, though for some time he bowed before them out of policy, and satisfied the Roman pontiffs of his orthodoxy and zeal by annual processions, the other mummeries which the successes of St. Peter had sanctioned. In the reformation of religion, his first steps were cautious and moderate; but being provoked by resistance and invective, the existence as well as the use of religious pictures were proscribed; the images of Christ, the Virgin, and the Saints, were demolished; and a smooth sur-

face of plaster was spread over the churches of Constantinople and the provinces. The people and clergy were divided with respect to this question. Leo now employed violence of every kind to establish his decrees: but the cities of the East could not be brought wholly to renounce the worship of images; while the West remained unanimously attached to it. The temporal dominion of the pope was first founded in rebellion, and that rebellion was now pretended to be justified by the heresy of the Iconoclastes. The second and third Gregory pronounced the separation of the East and West, and deprived the sacrilegious emperor of the sovereignty of Italy; though after carrying their object they somewhat relaxed, and till the coronation of Charlemagne, the government of Rome and Italy was exercised in the name of the successors of Constantine.

While Leo was almost wholly occupied about these disputes, the Saracens ravaged the eastern parts of the empire, though not with impunity; and it must be confessed, that in an age of turbulence, both from political and religious causes, this emperor conducted himself with firmness, and generally with more temper than his adversaries. After a reign of twenty-five years, and taking proper steps to secure the diadem to his son Constantine, he peaceably expired in his palace of Constantinople.

The precaution which Leo had taken to associate Constantine * with him in the empire, and cause him to be crowned, A. D. 751.

* Usually known by the appellation of Constantine Copronymus, from the pollution of his baptismal font.

did not prevent the appearance of a competitor, supported by Anastasius the patriarch. In the commencement of his reign, he had summoned a general assembly, which met in the suburbs of Constantinople, and decreed that all visible symbols of Christ, except in the eucharist, were either blasphemous or heretical; and all such monuments of idolatry were condemned to be broken or erased. He then undertook an expedition against the Saracens; but during his absence, his capital, his palace, and his throne, were occupied by his kinsman Artavasdes, the ambitious champion of the orthodox faith, as it was then fixed and believed. The worship of images was triumphantly restored; but Copronymus who had retired to his paternal mountains, soon descended at the head of his bold and faithful Isaurians: his victory was decisive; and both his rival and his son had their eyes put out. The patriarch, who was more than suspected of abetting the cause of the usurper, was sentenced to be paraded through the principal streets of the city, mounted on an ass with his face turned towards the tail, and himself to be beaten with rods; after which he was restored to his former rank, not being able, says the historian, to find any one worse. As Constantinople, where the usurper maintained himself, had not surrendered till forced by famine, the emperor punished its inhabitants by severe taxes and extortions; but above all others, his resentment was directed against the monks, his implacable enemies. From the chastisement of individuals, he proceeded to the abolition of the order: their religious communities were dissolved; the buildings converted into magazines or barracks; and

their property confiscated. The worshippers of images, who were reputed the orthodox, were rigorously persecuted, and the practice proscribed.

The manners of Copronymus were dissolute, and his temper was cruel; but even his enemies allow his courage and activity at the head of his legions: and in a various reign of thirty-four years, he triumphed both by sea and land; on the Euphrates and the Danube; in civil and barbarick war. Leo the Fourth was his A. D. 775. son and successor. This prince was of a feeble constitution both of body and mind; but he imitated his father's violence against images, though he had the vexation to find his opinions opposed even by his nearest connexions, and in particular by Irene his empress. He associated to the empire his son Constantine, with the unanimous wishes of his subjects; but the five sons of Copronymus by a second marriage, endeavoured to disturb the publick tranquillity. Their treasonable attempts were twice pardoned, and a third conspiracy was punished with amputation and banishment to Athens; and even in this retreat, their restless spirits prompted them to listen to a Sclavonian chief, who offered to break their prison and lead them to Constantinople. The people of Athens, however, appear to have interposed; and the brothers of the emperor were lost in oblivion and darkness.

Leo reigned only five years; and by his will the empress Irene was declared the guardian of the Roman world, and of his son Constantine the Sixth, who was no more than ten years of age. During his childhood, Irene had faithfully discharged the office with which she was intrusted;

but the maturer age of the emperor made the yoke of his mother appear grievous; and his favourites and flatterers stimulating his desire for power, it was determined to banish Irene to Sicily. But the empress being informed of the design by her minister Saturacius, caused the conspirators to be publicly flogged, and took on herself the charge of punishing her son, in a similar manner, in the interior of the palace. He being thus compelled to submit to the ascendant of his mother, took an oath of fidelity to her, and she was afterwards proclaimed sovereign by the armies. A tumult of the Armenian guards, however, encouraged the general declaration that Constantine the Sixth was the lawful ruler. The people, offended at Irene's cruelty to her son, whom she retained a prisoner in the apartments of his palace, obliged her to restore him to liberty. Saturacius, who had instigated her to scourge the adherents of the young emperor, was himself subjected to the same treatment. Constantine conducted his mother with the utmost respect to a palace of her own erection, where she was shut up with her treasure; but, as the emperor continued to visit her, she soon regained her influence over him.

To obtain this ascendancy, it is generally believed she encouraged his vices, or at least did not oppose them;—an indulgence extremely culpable in a parent, from whatever motives it may proceed, but which became criminal when her object was to render her son odious and detestable. By her advice, he repudiated without provocation his wife Maria, and put out the eyes of three of his uncles whom he suspected. The imprudence of

Constantine, served as a pretext for the cruel machinations of Irene. Being left with the army at Prusa in Bithynia, she dispatched several officers to depose her son. They arrived at Constantinople without being suspected of such a design; and put out the emperor's eyes in so barbarous a manner, that he died three days afterwards in the most excruciating pain, after having reigned alone and in conjunction with his mother, sixteen years.

Constantine on ascending the throne, had entertained hopes of marrying Rotdudris, the daughter of Charlemagne; but this match, which Irene had nearly brought to a conclusion, she broke off herself, fearing lest it should render her son too powerful for control. The desire, however, of securing the authority she had at length obtained, made her eagerly embrace a proposal of espousing Charlemagne, in order to unite the two empires; but the malice of the eunuch Aelius prevented the success of this measure. Incapable himself of possessing the imperial dignity, he wished to secure it for his brother Leo, the governor of Thrace, to whose pretensions the intended marriage would have been an insurmountable obstacle. He therefore divulged the matrimonial negociation that was going on; and to render it unpopular at the same time, insinuated that if it succeeded, the seat of empire would be transferred from Constantinople. The intrigues of Aetius, however, were disappointed; for the great treasurer Nicephorus, with corresponding ingratitude, had made a strong party against his mistress, and secretly obtained the purple from the citizens of the capital. The new emperor concealed his advance

ment till he had obtained possession of the riches of Irene; but no sooner had he accomplished this, than he treated the empress with the most marked disrespect, and banished her to the isle of Lesbos, where the want of a decent provision obliged her to earn a scanty subsistence by the labours of the distaff. Here she soon died with vexation, having enjoyed her ill-gotten power but six years after the death of her son; and whatever praises the catholick historians may have bestowed on her for the protection she afforded to images, Irene, in the eyes of reason and of impartial posterity, appears only an ambitious and intriguing woman, without feeling and without principle.

The character of Nicephorus was stained with the odious vices of hyprocrisy, ingratitude, and avarice. He made a treaty with the ambassadors of Charlemagne, who was then in the zenith of his power, and thus averted all danger from this quarter; but he was both unskilful and unfortunate in war.

During the dissentions which had arisen between the rival families of the Ommiades and Abbassides, the disgrace of a tribute was imposed on the commanders of the Faithful; but a severe retribution was exacted by Mohadi, the third caliph of a new dynasty. His second son Harun encamped under the walls of Constantinople, while Irene and her infant son were seated on the Byzantine throne. The retreat of the Saracens, however, was purchased by an annual tribute of seventy thousand deniers of gold; but five years afterwards, Harun, known by the surname of *Al Rashid*, or the Just, having ascended the throne of his father, Nice-

phorus refused the tribute, and resolved to obliterate this badge of servitude and disgrace. "Restore," said he in his letter to the caliph, "the fruits of your injustice, or abide the de-"termination of the sword." The reply of the caliph was couched in terms of tremendous brevity. "In the name of the most merciful God, "Harun Al Rashid, commander of the Faith-"ful, to Nicephorus, the Roman dog. I have "read thy letter, O thou son of an unbelieving "mother. Thou shalt not hear, but thou shalt "behold my answer." It was written in characters of blood and fire on the plains of Phrygia; and the warlike celerity of the Arabs could only be checked by the deceitful repentance of Nicephorus. But the victorious caliph had scarcely retired, before the peace was violated by the emperor of the East. His return was attended with the defeat of the victorious Greek, who escaped from the field of battle with three wounds. The torrent of the invaders deluged the surface of Asia Minor, and swept away the Pontick Heraclea: Nicephorus was compelled to submit, and the coin of the tribute was marked with the superscription of Harun and his three sons. These, however, after their father's death, being involved in civil discord, the conqueror Almanon, being engaged in the introduction of science, tacitly relinquished his claim to the Roman tribute.

Nicephorus at last was slain by the Bulgarians. His son Stauracius escaped from the field with a mortal wound; but the six months that he survived, were sufficient to prove that, with the kingdom, he inherited the vices of his father. Michael, who had married his sister

Procopia, possessed the wishes and esteem of the court and the city. The jealousy of Stauracius conspired against the life of his brother-in-law, which exasperated the people; and before he sunk into the grave, the son of Nicephorus was compelled to implore the clemency of the new emperor.

A. D. 811. The mild virtues of Michael were adapted to the shade of private life; but were soon found unequal to the task of controlling his seditious subjects, or repelling the invasions of the victorious barbarians. The masculine spirit of his wife Procopia, who presumed to direct the discipline of the camp, aroused the indignant feelings of the soldiers. A disaffected army, in consequence, asserted the claims of Leo the Armenian, an officer of distinguished merit; and the humanity of Michael prevented, by a voluntary resignation, the miseries of a civil war. The abdicated emperor withdrew to a monastery, separated from his power and his wife, and enjoyed the comforts of solitude and religion above thirty-two years. By the cruelty of Leo, his son Theophylactus was rendered incapable of procreation; but this precaution did not secure the new emperor from a competitor where he did not expect one.

Leo the Fifth had been early educated in a camp, and was fond of military parade. He introduced into his civil government the rigour of military discipline; and if his severity was sometimes dangerous to the innocent, it was always formidable to the guilty. Michael, his companion, had contributed towards the elevation of the emperor, and he soon conspired against his authority. His criminal designs had

been frequently detected, and as often pardoned by the indulgent gratitude of Leo; but he was, at length, when found incorrigible, condemned to be burnt alive. On the eve of Christmas he was leading to execution, when the empress Theodosia represented to her husband, that such a scene would be little suitable to the respect due to this hallowed season on which they were to receive the eucharist together, and therefore solicited a respite till the sacred festival was past. The emperor granted her request; but, lest the criminal should escape, he was loaded with irons, which were locked, and the keys brought to Leo himself.

Michael having obtained this interval of life, determined to employ it to the best advantage, and assembling the conspirators in his prison, he threatened to discover their practices if they refused to save him. Fear, rather than affection, induced them to run all hazards; and early in the morning they attacked the unsuspecting Leo in the chapel of his palace, and slew him at the foot of the altar. Not satisfied with this, they drew Michael from his prison, loaded with irons as he was, and seated him on the throne. The empress Theodosia, who had been the means of saving his life, was with signal ingratitude banished to an island with her four sons, who were previously castrated. Leo reigned about seven years and an half. He was a declared enemy to image worship; and on that account the catholicks seem to have promoted the elevation of his rival.

Michael, who from a defect in his speech was surnamed the Stammerer, was delivered from a dungeon and impending death, only to display

A. D. 820. his depraved and ignoble manners on a throne. Though he had been favoured by the orthodox, he was but little solicitous concerning their disputes, but rather inclined to Judaism. He observed, indeed, the Jewish sabbath, denied the resurrection of the dead, and was but little scrupulous in his morals, though severe to the faults of others. A person, named Thomas, having seduced the wife of a magistrate, in order to avoid suffering from justice, conspired against the emperor, transported into Europe an army of fourscore thousand barbarians from the banks of the Tigris, and the shores of the Caspian, and having gained two battles over Michael, formed the siege of Constantinople; but his camp being assaulted by a Bulgarian king, Thomas fell into the power of the emperor. The hands and feet of the rebel were amputated; and, mounted on an ass, he was led through the streets of the city, which he sprinkled with his blood.

But Michael was not yet secure from opposition. He had condemned a youth named Euphemius to the loss of his tongue, for stealing a nun from a convent. The gallant escaped, and appealing to the reason and policy of the Saracens of Africa, soon returned invested with the imperial purple, and supported by a fleet of one hundred ships, and an army of seven hundred horse and ten thousand foot. The apostate rebel, however, was slain before the walls of Syracuse; and his African friends were rescued from impending danger, by a reinforcement of their Andalusian brethren.

Michael, on the death of his first wife, had drawn from a convent Euphrosyne, the daughter

of Constantine the Sixth, who stipulated that her children should equally share the empire with his son Theophilus; but the nuptials of the emperor with his second spouse proved unfruitful, and Euphrosyne was content with the title of the mother of Theophilus, who succeeded his father after a nine-years' reign.

No sooner was Theophilus seated on the throne, than he replaced his mother-in-law in the monastery from whence she was taken; and, either through policy or justice, he punished the murderers of Leo, to whom his father owed the crown. The valour of this emperor, though often felt and acknowledged by his enemies, was rash and generally ineffectual; and his justice, though indisputable, was often arbitrary and cruel. Five times he marched against the Saracens in person; and in his last expedition, he destroyed Sozopetra in Syria, the birth-place of the caliph Motassem. The commander of the Faithful was provoked by the insult offered to a place which was naturally dear to him. The troops of Irak, Syria, and Egypt, were recruited from the tribes of the Arabs, the herds of the Turks, and other barbarous nations. The caliph in person commanded the formidable army, and, in the spirit of retaliation, his vengeance fell on Amovius, in Phrygia, the native city of the father of Theophilus. The emperor of the East embraced the generous resolution of defending in a battle the country of his ancestors; but he was compelled to fly before the fury of the invaders; and his army was only saved from a total defeat, by the bravery of the Persian auxiliaries. Amovium was levelled with the ground; and the caliph, tired with devastation, returned

A. D. 829.

to the neighbourhood of Bagdad; while Theophilus, after all his courage and military toils, only derived from them the surname of the Unfortunate.

A Persian of the race of Sassanides, had died in exile at Constantinople; and his son, being educated in the Byzantine court, a Christian and a soldier, received the hand of the emperor's sister, and the command of thirty thousand Persians, who, like his father, had fled before the Mahometan conquerors. These troops wished to place their general on the throne; but the loyal Theophobus rejected their importunity, and escaped from their hands to the palace of his royal brother. Instead, however, of engaging the confidence of the emperor by this disinterested conduct, he excited his jealousy. Theophilus, exasperated by envy, labouring under disease, and fearing that the dangerous virtues of his brother-in-law might oppress the weakness and infancy of his wife and son, demanded the head of his innocent rival. As he received it, "Thou," said he, "art no longer Theophobus;" and, sinking on his couch, he added, "Soon, too soon, I shall be no more Theophilus."

The greatest enemies of this prince, the orthodox Christians, as the worshippers of images were called, whom he harassed through his whole reign, confess that he was an observer of justice, a friend to his people, and free from avarice. It is related of him, that, observing a vessel in the port of Constantinople richly laden, and finding it belonged to his empress Theodora, he caused it to be burned exclaiming, "Shall I "suffer the wife of an emperor to be a trader? "When princes apply to commerce, their sub-

"jects will soon starve with hunger." Chaste and temperate in himself, he was an enemy to excess and uncleanness in others. He cleared his capital of prostitutes; and reviving and enforcing some excellent laws, died after an active reign of twelve years.

By the testament of Theophilus, his widow Theodora was intrusted with the guardianship of the empire, and her son Michael the Third, then only in the fifth year of his age. Her regency was in general honourable to herself and advantageous to the people; and had she not with a womanish fondness for the external show of religion, or from a spirit of contradiction, punished the Iconoclasts whom her husband had protected, she might have been proposed as a model for good conduct and good sense. During the fourteen years in which she held the reins of government, she almost cleared the empire of that sect, as well as of the Manicheans, who then had risen to considerable power and influence among the heretical sects.

At last, finding her authority decline from the wicked propensities and irregularities of her son, whom she was no longer able to restrain, instead of conspiring against the government, she retired into solitude, deploring the vices and inevitable ruin of the unworthy youth. However, before she abdicated the throne, she gave a publick account of her administration to the senate; and in order, if possible, to check the extravagance of her son, she made known what considerable sums she left in the treasury. She then, with her three daughters, bade an adieu to the court; but the undutiful Michael caused her to be shut

up in a monastery, where she soon after died of chagrin.

The emperor, now emancipated from all control, gave himself up to unbounded licentiousness. He studiously imitated the ignoble pursuits of Nero, and the scandalous excesses of Heliogabalus, whom he proposed for his models; and in a short time wasted the accumulated treasures which he had received from his mother. He delighted in the amusements of the theatre, and devoted himself to the unrestrained indulgence of lust and intemperance. Continually surrounded with buffoons and wretches, destitute of any sense of honour or virtue, he turned the most sacred things into ridicule. Some of his loose companions would dress themselves in the vestments worn by priests on solemn occasions, and in these habiliments, imitate the ceremonies of the church, with equal folly and impiety.

Whilst the emperor passed his life in such disgraceful scenes, his uncle Bardas, who had been instrumental in corrupting him, ruled with the most despotick authority, under the title of Cæsar; but Michael beginning to suspect him of aiming at the sovereignty, not only in power but also in name, he procured his assassination. As the indulgence, however, of his ease and his vices, required that he should have some one on whom he might devolve the cares and fatigues of government, he selected Basil his great chamberlain, a man of very low original fortune, but of a prepossessing appearance, and very dexterous in his exercises.

This man first attracted the notice of Bardas by his skill and agility in breaking colts, and through him gained admission into the emperor's

household, in which he rose to the highest offices; yet, with the blackest ingratitude, it was he who instilled into Michael those suspicions which cost his benefactor his life. In return, the emperor not only raised Basil to the dignity of Cæsar, but also appointed him his colleague. In this capacity Bazil applied himself to reform the abuses of government, and even endeavoured to correct the vicious habits of the emperor; but being apprised that Michael was become weary of such a censor of his actions, and that in consequence he meditated to take him off, the associate in the empire entered the royal chamber in the hours of sleep and intoxication, and slew the son of Theophilus in the thirtieth year of his age.

If the crime of murder can be palliated on any pretence, it admitted of some extenuation here. Basil removed a tyrant and a wretch who disgraced his station; and in himself gave the empire a just and moderate governor. This prince, who was the founder of a new dynasty, derived his descent from a younger branch of the Arsacides, the former rivals of Rome. Two of these had retired to the court of Leo the First, and obtained a settlement in Macedonia. Their splendour, however, was insensibly clouded by time and poverty; and the father of Basil was reduced to a small farm, which he cultivated with his own hands. He had married a widow of Adrianople, who counted the great Constantine among her ancestors; but in the very infancy of Bazil he was swept away with his family and city, by an inundation of the Bulgarians. Educated as a slave in the severe service of these barbarians, A. D. 867.

he acquired a hardiness of body, and a flexibility of mind, which promoted his future elevation. After some years of servitude, he shared the deliverance of the Roman captives, who broke their chains, marched through Bulgaria to the shores of the Euxine, defeated two armies of barbarians, and then embarked for Constantinople in the vessels prepared for their reception. He was introduced to the service of a relation of the emperor Theophilus, and soon after was noticed by Bardas, as has already been related.

The solid praise of Basil is drawn from the ruined state of his kingdom at his accession, and its flourishing condition at his death. His application was indefatigable, his temper cool, and his understanding vigorous and decisive. He raised men only on account of their merit; and allowed all his subjects, of whatever rank, to address him with freedom, which endeared him so much to them, that they regarded him as a common father, while they revered him as their emperor.

Though not endowed with the spirit and talents of a warrior, the Roman arms, under his reign, were again formidable to the barbarians; but his principal fame was derived from the civil administration of the finances and the laws. Basil, however, had nearly been guilty of a crime which would for ever have stained his memory. His son Leo being falsely accused of an attempt to assassinate him, in the first paroxysm of his rage, he intended to deprive him of his sight, but afterward was satisfied with confining him. The courtiers in general being convinced of the prince's innocence, continually importuned the emperor to set him at liberty,

but without effect; and to get rid of their applications, he forbade his son to be named in his presence. One day, however, while he was conversing with one of his principal officers, a parrot, which had often heard a regret expressed for the unhappy prince, on a sudden broke out with, "Alas, poor Leo!" The incident was improved by the solicitude of Leo's friends; and the emperor at last consented to his liberation. For this prince he afterwards wrote excellent rules of government, comprised in sixty-six chapters, the initial letters of which form the following sentence: "Basil, emperor of the Romans in Christ, to his dear son and colleague Leo."

The glorious reign of Basil was terminated by an accident in the chase. A furious stag entangled his horns in the girdle of the emperor, and raised him from his horse. He was immediately rescued by the courage and activity of an attendant; but the fall, or consequent fever, exhausted the strength of the aged monarch, and he expired amidst the tears of his family and people, in the nineteenth year of his reign.

Constantine, the eldest son of Basil, had died before his father; Stephen, the youngest, was content with the honours of a patriarch and a saint; and Leo and Alexander, the two other sons, were alike invested with the purple; but the power was solely executed by the elder brother, Leo the Sixth, surnamed the Philosopher. The only reason, however, that can be given for applying this sage appellation to him is, that he was less ignorant than the generality of his contemporaries, both A. D. 836.

in church and state, and that several books of profane and ecclesiastical science were composed in his name, or by his pen.

In his three first nuptial alliances he was unfortunate. His empresses died successively, without leaving him any issue. Leo required a female companion, and the empire a legitimate heir; but a fourth marriage was a scandal as yet unknown in the Christian church, and his forming a matrimonial union with the beautiful Zoe, who, as a concubine, had brought him a son, named Constantine, occasioned a schism among the Greek ecclesiasticks. The patriarch refused his benediction, and even the people took part in the idle dispute; but matters being accommodated, Leo retained his fourth wife Zoe, and procured her son to be legitimated.

During the greater part of this reign, war was carried on with the Saracens by his generals, who experienced various success. As for the emperor himself, he was busied with the government of the interior, and with literary pursuits. His reign, which lasted twenty-five years, with some few exceptions, was advantageous to the people; and this, to a sovereign, supersedes the necessity of any other praise.

Leo, when expiring, had adjured his brother Alexander, to whom he bequeathed the crown, to hold it only in charge for his nephew, Constantine; but the uncle soon formed the horrid design of rendering him incapable of wearing it, by castration. The young prince, however, was saved from this destiny, by its being represented to Alexander, that from his constitution he was not likely to be long-lived. Fortunately, the excesses of the uncle abridged his own existence;

but in the space of one year he had rendered himself equally despicable and detestable.

Constantine the Seventh derived the appellation of Porphyrogenitus from the apartment of the Byzantine palace, which was reserved for the use of the empresses when in parturition, and was lined with porphyry, or purple. On his father's death he was but six years old, and therefore, for a long time, was rather a spectator than an actor on the publick stage. His uncle had left him in the hands of guardians better qualified and more likely to corrupt than to form him to virtue. They at the same time exercised the office of regents; but the senate dismissed them, and Zoe, the mother of the young prince, who had been removed to a distance, being invited to return, assumed the reins of government. Scarcely, however, had she entered on her administration, when the Bulgarians, the perpetual enemies of the Greeks, by their daring irruptions, obliged Zoe to raise troops against them, which she committed to two generals, Romanus and Leo. These were no sooner placed at the head of the army, than they conceived the design of seizing on the empire for themselves, or dividing it with Constantine; but the traitors disagreeing, and being jealous of each other's success, the faction of Romanus obtained the ascendancy, which was immediately shown by causing the eyes of Leo to be put out, and marrying the daughter of the successful general to Constantine. At the same time Romanus procured from the emperor the appointment of his son Christopher to be head of the allies, then the chief support of the empire. He next assumed A. D. 911.

the title of Cæsar himself, and soon after that of emperor, with the full independence of royalty, which he held near five-and-twenty years.

The three sons of the usurper were successively adorned with the same honours, and the lawful emperor was degraded from the first to the fifth rank in this college of princes; but his studious temper and retired habits disarmed the jealousy of Romanus Lecapenus; and the grandson of Basil, with an equanimity and industry not usual among those who are born to elevated stations, and have afterwards fallen into disgrace, improved a scanty allowance by his skill as an artist, and by the exhibition and sale of his pictures.

The fall of Lecapenus was occasioned partly by his own vices, but more particularly by the follies and crimes of his children. After the decease of Christopher, his eldest son, the two surviving brothers quarrelled with each other, but afterwards united in a conspiracy against their father. They surprised him in his palace, and dressing him in the habit of a monk, conveyed him to a small island in the Propontis, which had been assigned to a religious community. This domestick and unnatural revolution excited a tumult, from the effects of which Constantine Porphyrogenitus was restored to the throne; and the sons of Romanus, by a decree of equal-handed justice, were sent to the same island to which they had previously transported their father, and were obliged to assume the sacerdotal character, as a security against fresh conspiracies.

In the fortieth year of his age, Constantine the Seventh obtained the full possession of the empire of the East. Naturally indolent, and some-

what addicted to intemperance, he relinquished the reins of government to the caprice of his wife Helena, the daughter of the banished Romanus; yet the birth, the connexions, the learning, and innocence of Constantine, endeared him to the Greeks, and his death was lamented by the unfeigned tears of his subjects. Before the funeral procession moved towards the imperial sepulchre, an herald proclaimed this awful admonition: "Arise, O king of the world, and obey the summons of the King of kings." The death of Constantine was imputed to poison, administered by his son Romanus. This monster presented a poisoned cup to his father; but the emperor's foot slipping as he raised the draught to his lips, he spilt a considerable part of it, and thus prevented an instant, though it laid the foundation of a lingering, dissolution.

Romanus, however, who derived his name from his maternal grandfather, was allowed to mount the throne; and his conduct as emperor did not alter the opinion that his parricidal attempt had created. He appears to have been one of the most debauched princes exhibited in the fertile annals of infamy. Whilst his two brothers, Nicephorus and Leo, triumphed over the Saracens, the hours of Romanus were devoted to the amusement of the circus, and the sensualities of the table. Though in strength and beauty he was distinguished above other men, yet these perfections were insufficient to fix the affections of Theophano his wife, a woman of low origin, masculine spirit, and flagitious manners, well according with those of her husband. After he had reigned four years, she mingled for the em- A. D. 959.

peror the same deadly potion which he had composed for his father, and he fell a martyr to its effects. Romanus the Second, in order to pursue his pleasures without interruption, had delegated his principal authority to his great chamberlain, Joseph, a simple and credulous man, who continued for some time to conduct the administration of affairs in the name of Theophano, and the sons of the late emperor; but was afterwards immured, by a successful rival, within the walls of a convent, where he soon paid the debt of nature.

A. D. 963. Romanus had left two sons, Basil and Constantine, and two daughters, Theophano and Anne. The eldest was given in marriage to the second emperor of the West; and the youngest became the wife of Wolodomir, great duke and apostle of Russia. After the death of her husband, Theophano found it in vain to endeavour to reign with the assistance of the mild and simple Joseph; and conscious of the necessity of a protector, in the selection of whom she was no doubt led by private inclination, threw herself into the arms of Nicephorus Phocas, who united, in the popular opinion, the double merit of a hero and a saint. But though in the former character his qualifications were genuine and splendid, and required no borrowed aids, his religion was only assumed as a mask to conceal his real designs, and to catch the favours of the bigoted and the weak. He affected a desire to resign the command of the army with which he had been intrusted, and to retire from the world into the solitude of a convent; but being easily persuaded to abandon both designs, which he had only professed in

order to ascertain his interest with the people, he marched to Constantinople, openly avowed his connexion with the empress, and without degrading her sons, or pretending to invalidate their claims, assumed the title of Augustus, with the pre-eminence of power. A reign of six years rendered him odious to his subjects, and served to develope his hypocrisy and avarice; yet it must be allowed that Nicephorus was more anxious to apply the revenue to the publick use than to his private gratification: every spring he marched against the Saracens; and the taxes seem to have been expended in securing the barriers of the East, or in extending their limits.

An act of ingratitude hastened the destruction of Nicephorus. John Zimisces, a noble Armenian, of uncommon stature, strength, and beauty, and possessing the soul of a hero, had essentially contributed to the elevation of the emperor; but instead of being rewarded for his services, he had experienced disgrace and exile. Zimisces, however, had the honour or infamy to be ranked among the lovers of the empress, and by her intercession, he was permitted to reside in the vicinity of the capital. This unprincipled woman being as much tired of the husband as the people were of the emperor, entered in Zimisces' design of revenge; and in person opened the chamber door of Nicephorus to the conspirators, who massacred him without opposition. The death of the emperor was heard without the smallest emotion of pity or regret, and the Armenian was duly proclaimed emperor of the East; but the patriarch having en-

joined him a publick penance for the murder of his predecessor, he threw the whole blame on Theophano; and, in order to show his justice, or perhaps to be freed from such a dangerous associate, he banished her to a monastery in Armenia, and admitted her two sons, Basil and Constantine, as his partners in the empire.

A competition soon arose in the person of Bardas Phocas, a nephew of the late emperor; but his partisans deserting him without trying their strength by a battle, the pretender obtained his life from the clemency of Zimisces, and was only confined to the isle of Chios.

The personal valour and activity of the new emperor were signalised on the Danube and the Tigris; and by his double triumph over the Russians and Saracens, he deserved the title of the conqueror of the East and the saviour of the empire. On his return, however, from these conquests, observing superb palaces and well-cultivated lands on his road, belonging to the eunuch Basil, who had greatly enriched himself during the two preceding reigns, with the blunt sincerity of a soldier, he exclaimed, "What, must the Roman empire then be abandoned to the rapacity of an insolent eunuch?" This expression cost him his life: a cup of poison was administered to him, the effects of which he speedily felt, but suffered no inquiry to be made respecting the agents in this business, which, to the disgrace of human nature, was now become fashionable. Zimisces employed the short space that he survived the fatal draught in acts of piety and political regulations; and nominating Basil and Constantine for his successors, died

universally lamented, in the ninth year of his reign.

Whether the execrable Theophano had any share in the death of Zimisces is unknown, but it is certain she partook of the advantages resulting from it. The eunuch Basil recalled her, in hopes of reigning with her in the names of the two princes, the eldest of whom was now nineteen, and the other seventeen years of age. The premature death of Zimisces, who faithfully administered the empire, without violating the right of succession, seems to have been a loss rather than a benefit to the sons of Romanus. They fell into hands less able to protect them, without yet having acquired sufficient experience to protect themselves. Constantine continued to indulge the pleasures of youth, and to reject the cares of government; but his elder brother soon began to feel the impulse of genius, and the desire of honourable activity. Constantinople and the provinces acknowledged the authority of Basil; but Asia was oppressed by two veteran generals, Phocas and Selerus, who set up for independence. The death of the first, however, in front of battle, and the submission of the last at the foot of the throne, confirmed the sovereign power of Basil, who displayed his valour in frequent expeditions against the Saracens, and by the final destruction of the kingdom of Bulgaria. On this occasion it is related of him, that having taken a great number of prisoners, he divided them into companies of an hundred each, caused all their eyes to be put out, and ordered them to be conducted to Samuel their king, by a man who had one eye left. This horrid spectacle so overcame the king of the Bul-

garians, that he fainted away, and died two days afterwards. In short, whatever praise may be bestowed on the valour of Basil, he was as much detested by his subjects as he was feared by his enemies. In the sixty-eighth year of his age, his martial spirit, still unexhausted, prompted him to undertake a war in person against the Saracens in Sicily; but he was prevented by death; and he expired amidst the blessings of the clergy and the curses of the people.

A. D. 1025. His weak and dissipated brother, Constantine, survived him about three years, and employed his power and time in settling the succession of the empire, and studiously overthrowing all the plans of his brother, whose ministers he displaced, and substituted in their room the companions of his own excesses. Fortunate were those generals or magistrates, if estimable, who escaped with no worse than exile, or the loss of sight. The tomb was opening to receive this libertine old man, when he began to feel some anxiety about his children. He had three daughters, one of whom he wished his adopted successor, Romanus, to marry, though he had already a wife whom he tenderly loved. "Take your choice," said Constantine, "of either repudiating your wife, "marrying one of my daughters, and being pro- "claimed emperor, or of having your eyes put "out." The alternative was dreadful, but his wife sacrificed herself for the sake of her husband, by retiring into a monastery; and Romanus espoused Zoe, the second daughter of Constantine, only three days before the death of that worthless emperor.

In the tenth century, which was now elapsed,

the provinces that still acknowledged the authority of the successors of Constantine, had been cast into a new mould by the institution of the *themes*, or military governments; but of these twenty-nine *themes*, twelve in Europe and seventeen in Asia, the origin is obscure, and the limits were fluctuating. The victories of Nicephorus, John Zimisces, and Basil the Second, had enlarged the boundaries of the Roman name; but in the eleventh century the prospect was clouded by new enemies and new misfortunes. The relicks of Italy were swept away by the Norman adventurers, and almost all the Asiatick branches were dissevered from the Roman trunk by the Turkish conquerors. Still the spacious provinces of Thrace, Macedonia, and Greece, were obedient to their sceptre; the possession of Cyprus, Rhodes, and Crete, with the fifty islands of the Aegean, or holy sea, remained to them; and the rest of the empire, with all its defalcations, equalled the largest of the modern European kingdoms.

The subjects of the Byzantine empire were still the most dexterous of all nations; their country was blessed by nature with every advantage of soil, climate, and situation, and in the support and restoration of the arts, their patient and peaceful temper is highly to be commended.

The first demand on the publick revenue was the pomp and pleasure of the emperor. The coasts and islands of Asia and Europe were covered with the magnificent villas of the princes of Constantinople: the great palace, the centre of imperial residence, was decorated and enlarged by the wealth and emulation of successive

sovereigns; and the long series of apartments were adorned with a profusion of gold, silver, and precious stones. The dignity of the imperial throne was maintained by a solemn and studied silence; and all who were admitted to the royal presence, prostrating themselves on the ground, kissed the feet of the emperor.

The three great empires which, from the age of Charlemagne to that of the crusades, disputed the world, were the Greeks, the Saracens, and Franks. The wealth of the Greeks enabled them to purchase the service of the poorer nations; and to maintain a naval power for the protection of their coasts, and the annoyance of their enemies: but the martial spirit of the Greeks was evaporated; they trusted chiefly to mercenary barbarians; and a cold hand and a loquacious tongue was the general description of the descendants of the Romans.

The Moslems had undoubtedly degenerated also under the last caliphs; but the latent spark of fanaticism still glowed in the principles of their religion; the poor were allured by the hopes of plunder; the rich were ambitious of death or victory in the cause of God; and these considerations rendered them incessantly in action. The Franks, after the death of Charlemagne, had been split into many hostile and independent states; the regal title was assumed by the most ambitious chiefs; and their private wars, which overturned the fabrick of government, fomented the martial spirit of the nation. In the turbulence of the tenth and eleventh centuries, every peasant was a soldier, and every village a fortification. This love of freedom and of arms was felt with conscious pride by the

Franks themselves, and was observed by the Greeks with terror and amazement. Retreat was considered as flight, and flight as indelible disgrace; but their independent spirit disdained the yoke of subordination; and they abandoned the standard of their chief, whenever he attempted to violate his stipulations with them.

The restoration of images in the eastern church was celebrated as the feast of orthodoxy: the Pagans had disappeared; the Jews were silent and obscure; and persecution itself might have slept, had not the Paulicians* been selected as the victims of spiritual tyranny. These being at last driven into exile, scattered over the West the seeds of the reformation.

On the theatre of Italy, the three great nations of the world, the Greeks, the Saracens, and the Franks, encountered each other. The southern provinces were subject, for the most part, to the Lombards, dukes and princes of Beneventum. The rival chiefs, however, of Benevento, Salerno, and Capua, inflamed by ambitious competition, invited the Saracens, to the ruin of their common inheritance. For two hundred years, the frequent and annual squadrons of the disciples of Mahomet issued from the port of Palermo; their more formidable fleets were equipped on the African coast; and the Arabs of Andalusia were sometimes tempted to assist, and sometimes to oppose, the Moslems of a different sect: but their depredations at last provoking Basil II. emperor of the East, and Lewis, the grandson of Char-

* So called from Constantine, their founder, showing a marked predilection for the writings of St. Paul.

lemagne, their fortress of Bari, which commands the Adriatick gulph, was attacked, and after a gallant resistance of four years, was obliged to capitulate. This amity of the two emperors, however, was of short duration; and the Saracenick interest again gathered strength, and prevailed from their dissentions.

About the same time, the Normans began to appear on the political horizon, and produced the most important consequences, both to Italy and the eastern empire. After a long indulgence of rapine and slaughter, they accepted an ample territory in France, embraced the Christian faith; and their dukes professed themselves the vassals of the successors of Charlemagne and Capet. They imbibed the manners, language, and gallantry of the French nation; their pilgrimages to Rome, Italy, and the Holy Land, were frequent and zealous; they confederated for their mutual defence; and under Robert Guiscard, they became formidable both to the East and the West. It is well known their princes conquered England; but at last the adventurous Normans, after a brilliant, but short career, were lost, either in victory or servitude, among the nations they had vanquished.

A. D. 1028. After the death of Constantine the Ninth, the sceptre of the East, as has already been mentioned, devolved on Romanus Argyrus, a patrician of graceful person, and unsullied reputation. He immediately signalised his humanity by emancipating the poor captives, the number of whom had been excessively multiplied by continual wars. After giving each a sufficient sum of money to support

him on his journey, he dismissed him to his own country, and thus spread his fame over the most distant nations. His liberality to the monasteries, which he enriched with magnificent ornaments, has also been greatly praised by ecclesiastical writers. In short his whole conduct evinced him to be a prince of piety and moral goodness, but it was his misfortune to be married to Zoe. This abandoned woman had preferred to the pleasures of her bed, Michael, a handsome Paphlagonian, brother to the eunuch John, who was the emperor's favourite. Zoe soon justified the Roman maxims, that every adultress is capable of poisoning her husband: the dose she gave him, however, was too slow in its effects; and therefore she suborned a wretch to hold his head under water in the bath till he was drowned, in the sixth year of his reign. While Romanus was expiring, the infamous Zoe, sent in his name, for the patriarch, whom she addressed, on his introduction, in these words: "The emperor is dead;—to pre-"vent all commotion, marry me therefore im-"mediately to Michael, whom you see." The pontiff at first hesitated; but a liberal douceur vanquished his scruples; and Zoe, scarcely a widow, was consigned to the arms of a new husband.

The whole system of government, and the principal agents in the administration, were now changed. The ministers of Romanus were either deprived or banished, and their places were filled by the creatures of the eunuch John, who now seized on the entire authority. Zoe herself was not exempted from the effects of the eunuch's jealousy for the support of his usurped

power: those attendants of her person, in whom she had the greatest confidence, were displaced, and others substituted in their room, who were wholly in the interest of John. But a more capital cause of disgust, to a woman of her temperament, was to find that she had only exchanged one devotee for another. Michael, tormented by remorse of conscience, thought only of expiating by acts of piety and penitence, the crime which had raised him to the throne. Besides, he was afflicted with epileptick fits, which impairing his reason, and rendering him unfit even for nominal sway, an obscure nephew of his, Michael Calaphates, so named from his father's occupation in careening vessels, was adopted by Zoe, and associated in the empire. To him the diadem descended, after it had been worn nearly eight years by his uncle.

A. D. 1041. In the elevation of his nephew, the eunuch John seems to have ill consulted the temper of the person he had made his master. At the instigation of Zoe, Calaphates banished both him and another uncle, named Constantine; and soon after the empress being accused of having employed magick against his own person, she was confined in a monastery. The disgrace of the eunuch was grateful to the publick; but the exile of Zoe excited a tumult, which continued for three days. Zoe was in consequence restored, and with her elder sister, Theodora, who had led a religious life, was placed on the throne. Meanwhile Michael, in order to escape notice, sunk into the cloister, after having worn the purple for four months; nor was the empress satisfied with his voluntary

degradation, but insisted on having his eyes put out, which was accordingly put in execution.

For the space of two months the royal sisters gave audience to the ambassadors, and presided in the senate. Theodora remained averse to marriage; but being called upon by her subjects to give them an emperor, from the various pretenders which arose, she preferred Constantine, surnamed Monomachus, a man of illustrious birth, and agreeable person, and to him she gave her hand for the third time. A. D. 1042.

Monomachus governed with wisdom and prudence; and with as much good fortune as the incursions of the barbarians, with which the empire was continually harassed, would allow. His health was early broken by the gout; and the most memorable transaction of his reign, was his dividing, with the consent of Zoe, the nuptial bed, with a widow named Selerena. Yet he survived both his wives; and perhaps might have lived some years longer, had not Theodora, on the demise of her sister, caused herself to be proclaimed empress. This bold step so agitated the weakened frame of Constantine the Tenth, that he fainted on hearing it, and died in the thirteenth year of his reign.

Theodora filled the throne she had thus assumed with honour and dignity: her wisdom in the choice of ministers and generals; her impartiality in the distribution of justice, as well as the moderation with which she exerted her authority, gained her the love of her people, and the respect of surrounding nations. But being advanced in years, she did not long enjoy the imperial dignity; and on her A. D. 1055.

death-bed, by the advice of her counsellors, she left the sceptre to Michael Stratioticus, a decrepid veteran, who seems to have had few qualifications to recommend him, except a flexibility of temper, which was likely to render him subservient to the views of ministry. In Theodora expired the Macedonian dynasty.

Had the law of hereditary succession at that time been observed, the throne would have belonged to Theodorus, cousin to the deceased emperor. This prince indeed made some attempts to obtain possession of that envied station, in hopes that the patriarch and the clergy would second his efforts; but he found them deaf to his entreaties. They afforded him, however, an asylum in the church, which he afterwards voluntarily quitted, and went into exile, where he died.

Stratioticus, by his feeble government and imprudent conduct, soon raised himself up a much more dangerous rival. Instead of conciliating the generals and soldiery as his chief support, he was little cautious to avoid giving them offence. In consequence of their disgust and disaffection to the ruling emperor, they began to look about for another; and elected one of their own number, whom they designed to place on the throne the first favourable opportunity: and so great was the negligence or the infatuation of the existing government, that the secret was kept many months, till fully matured among the accomplices. At last it was divulged; and the court heard with astonishment, that the greatest part of the troops of the empire were assembled in a large plain, with a new emperor at their head.

Stratioticus, however, or rather those who ruled in his name, collected a sufficient army to venture a battle, the issue of which was unpropitious to him. Isaac Comnenus, who had been raised by the military, immediately after marched towards Constantinople, and his power was confirmed by the sanction of the senate. A deputation of bishops waited on Stratioticus to exhort him to abdicate the imperial dignity, without making any further resistance. "What," said he, "will you give in exchange for it?" They replied, "The kingdom of heaven." The old man seems to have approved of the bargain; and went into a monastery to prepare himself for his celestial inheritance, after a reign of little more than a year.

The family of Comnenus, who now ascended the throne of the East, had been long transported from Italy into Asia. His father Manuel, in the reign of the second Basil, had been very instrumental in appeasing the troubles of the empire. He left, in a tender age, two sons, Isaac and John, whom he bequeathed to the gratitude of the sovereign. The youths were carefully educated, and rapidly advanced to the command of armies, and the government of provinces. This fraternal union doubled their commendation, and promoted their mutual interest. When Stratioticus became unpopular, the army fixed on Isaac; and his first care after his exaltation was to reward those who had raised him, and his next to replenish the exhausted coffers of the state. To effectuate this, he loaded the people with heavy taxes, which, not being accustomed to bear, excited loud murmurs. He then fleeced the clergy, and this aggravated his

offence. The patriarch, who ventured to complain, was displaced and banished; but the emperor finding his health decline, soon after his succession, was admonished to provide a successor. Instead, however, of leaving the throne as a marriage portion to his daughter, his reason decided the preference of his brother John; but the obstinate refusal of John, at last induced him to nominate Constantine Ducas, a friend of the Comnenian house; and Isaac, having reigned only a few months, retired to a monastery, where he passed the short remainder of his days, in exercises of piety and devotion.

A. D. 1059. Constantine the Eleventh, surnamed Ducas, but ill approved the discernment of Isaac. He suffered the taxes to remain a cause of discontent and complaint, which became the more urgent, as it did not appear that the extraordinary levies contributed to the happiness of the people. The emperor was continually harassed by invasions: the Turks were become truly formidable; and Ducas, instead of repulsing them by his armies, endeavoured to buy off their hostility by donations to their generals. These received his presents; and as may reasonably be supposed, soon returned to extort more, by new ravages.

In this manner Ducas held the reins of government for upwards of five years, when, being reduced to the last extremity by an incurable disease, he left the empire to his three sons, Michael, Andronicus, and Constantine, who had been invested with the equal title of Augustus, at an early age; and named their mother, the empress Eudocia, regent during their minority,

after having obliged her to take an oath never to enter again into the state of matrimony.

Two very potent motives, love and necessity, in the space of a few months, obliged the empress to violate her vow. A. D. 1067.

The discontented and ambitious taking advantage of some publick disasters, occasioned by the Turks, openly declared that the present state of the empire required the government of a hero, and not of a weak and timid woman. Among these declaimers appeared Romanus Diogenes, a man of an agreeable person and an illustrious birth. But Diogenes did not rest content with declamations;—he accompanied his words by his actions, and in consequence was accused of aiming at the sovereignty. Being brought before Eudocia to receive sentence of death for his treasonable designs, the empress was moved with compassion at the sight of a person who appeared too amiable in her eyes to be guilty of the imputed crime; and therefore, she not only pardoned him, but placed him at the head of her armies, and formed the design of admitting him as the partner of her empire and bed. Already, in her own heart, she had dispensed with her oath; and to conciliate all parties, it was only necessary to obtain the same indulgence from the patriarch John Xiphilin.

To him she dispatched a trusty eunuch, who in pretended confidence imparted to him, that the empress having fallen deeply in love with his nephew Bardas, was determined to marry him, and to divide with him the imperial authority, provided he would annul the oath she had taken, and persuade the senate of the propriety of her conduct. The patriarch, dazzled

with the idea of seeing his nephew invested with the purple, by his animated representations of the afflicted state of the empire, and by inveighing against the fatal effects of the rash oath extorted by the jealousy of the deceased emperor, easily obtained the concurrence of the senate in his views. He then publicly restored to Eudocia the written oath of which he had been the depositary, and exhorted her to espouse some person who might have power and abilities to protect the royal family and the empire. She heard him with the most flattering attention, promised to weigh his arguments; and a few days after, to the astonishment of the duped pontiff, married Romanus Diogenes, and caused him to be proclaimed emperor. The friends of the young princes were diverted from opposing this step by the tears of Eudocia, and the assurances of the fidelity of the new guardian. The fortune of war, however, soon threw Romanus into the hands of Axan the sultan of the Turks, which inflicted a deadly wound on the monarchy of the East. The sultan, indeed, treated him with every attention that could alleviate misfortune; and concluded with him a peace on as liberal terms as if he had been at liberty: but when Romanus obtained his release from his generous conqueror, he vainly sought for his wife and his subjects. The former had been thrust into a monastery by the influence of John Ducas, her brother-in-law, who proclaimed the eldest of his nephews; and the latter had embraced the rigid maxim of the civil law, which declared, "that a prisoner in the hands of his enemy is deprived of all the publick and private rights of a Roman citizen." The fruitless en-

terprises of Romanus to regain his throne were succeeded by submission; but, contrary to the faith of his capitulation, he was poisoned, and this acting too slowly, his eyes were put out in so cruel a manner that he died a few days after, in the fourth year of his reign. A. D. 1071.

Under the triple reign of the house of Ducas, the two younger brothers were reduced to the vain honours of the purple; while Michael the elder, surnamed Parapinaces, was so extremely indolent, that he left the whole power in the hands of John his uncle, which he secured by displacing or driving into exile all such as were capable of opposing him. This arbitrary mode of proceeding raised him many enemies. The Turks, who no longer contented themselves with irruptions on the frontiers, but had formed establishments in various parts of the empire, now found themselves called in by the different factions, whose discords they fomented, and thus gained a permanent footing. Ruselius, a native of Gaul, obtained several advantages over them; and this, reinforced by the weakness of the government which he served, inspired him with the resolution of declaring himself emperor. Alexius Comnenus, a young officer, but already advantageously known by his victories, was sent against him, and this rebellion was quelled by the captivity of Ruselius, whose fate is not recorded.

Soon after, however, two generals of the same name of Nicephorus, but distinguished by the surnames of Bryennius and Botaniates, placed themselves at the head of the European and

Asiatick legions, and assumed the purple, the one at Adrianople, the other at Nice. Bryennius soon displayed his standards before the gates of Constantinople; but instead of meeting with support, as he expected, his troops were repulsed by the inhabitants: while Botaniates, advancing with slow and cautious steps, was received with the acclamations of the people, and the approbation of the senate. The feeble emperor preferred resigning the crown to the perpetual fatigues of defending it; and was rewarded with a monastick habit, and the title of archbishop of Ephesus. He left a son, Constantine, born and educated in the purple; and a daughter of the family of Ducas afterwards intermarried with, and confirmed the succession of the Comnenian dynasty.

And here it may be remarked, that the causes of the decline of the empire of the East, in a great measure, resemble those of the empire of the Seleucidæ, allowing for the difference of religion, institutions, and manners. Among the Seleucidæ, the intrigues of the court originated in the marriages which took place between the brothers and sisters whose children disputed with equal pretensions, that sovereignty which they were weakening. The same consequences followed the confusion of marriages among the Greeks, which giving rise to the like mixture of pretensions, brought on similar confusion. Both in one and the other empire, the revolution was prepared by animosities, the influence of women, the inexperience of young princes, the short duration of reigns; and not less by the perfidious alliances of the surrounding nations, than by their continual assaults. Yet sometimes a prince

appeared, who supported with a strong hand the tottering fabrick of the state, and for a while delayed its final catastrophe.

Alexius, whose history will now deserve to be detailed, the nephew of the emperor Isaac, and the third son of John Comnenus, who had refused the imperial sceptre, was one of the last who deserted the cause of Michael, and probably would have preserved his fidelity longer, had not that emperor made a voluntary resignation of his power. In his first interview with Botaniates, "Prince," said Alexius, "my duty "rendered me your enemy; the decrees of God "and the people have made me your subject: "judge of my future loyalty by my past oppo-"sition." The successor of Michael heard him with complacency, and entertained him with esteem and confidence. His valour was employed, and his allegiance approved, against Ursel, Bryennius, and Basilacius, three rebels who disturbed the peace of the empire; but the refusal of Alexius to march against a fourth rebel, the husband of his own sister, obliterated the memory of his past services; and in the dilemma to which he was reduced, he thought it necessary for his personal security to retire with his elder brother Isaac, and to erect the standard of civil war. The soldiers, who had been gradually assembled in the vicinity of the capital, devoted themselves to the cause of a gallant and injured general; and Alexius, with the applause of the army, and by the generous consent of his elder brother, was invested with the imperial purple. Constantinople was surprised; and the aged Botaniates, yielding to the advice of the patriarch Cosmas, resigned the empire rather

than suffer the capital to be stained with Christian blood. Proceeding to the principal church, he deposited his imperial robes on the altar, and from thence retired to a cloister, where he assumed the habit of a monk. By this revolution, the family of the Comneni were again seated on the throne, at an epoch the most eventful in history.

CHAP. XXVIII.

From the reign of Alexius to the Latin Conquest.

A FEW years before the elevation of Alexius, the city of Jerusalem had fallen into the hands of the Turks, at a time when the zeal for pilgrimages to the holy sepulchre had increased beyond the example of former ages. The roads to Jerusalem were continually crowded with multitudes of either sex, and of every rank, who professed their contempt of life, so soon as they should have kissed the tomb of their redeemer. Sultan Toucush asserted his claim to the dominions of Syria and Palestine; but the hereditary command of the holy city and territory was intrusted to the emir Ortok, the chief of a tribe of Turkmans, whose manners still breathed the fierceness of the desert. From Nice to Jerusalem, the western countries of Asia, were a scene of foreign and domestick hostility: the pilgrims were the victims of private rapine or publick oppression. Their pathetick tale was repeated over all Europe; a spirit of religious chivalry arose; and the relief of the holy land, under the banner of the cross, became the ruling passion both of sovereigns and their people. A. D. 1081.

This spirit, if not first planted, was roused into action by Peter the Hermit, a native of Amiens, who having visited the holy sepulchre,

and witnessed the oppressions of the infidels, returned an accomplished fanatick, and determined to employ every energy of an enthusiastick mind, in trying to deliver Palestine from the domination of the Turks. Pope Urban the Second applauded his design; and the zealous missionary, invigorated by his approbation, traversed with speed and success the provinces of Italy and France. He preached to innumerable crowds in the churches, the streets, and the highways; and when the rustick orator challenged the warriors of the age to defend their brethren, and rescue their Saviour, every breast glowed with the spirit of martial enterprise; and christendom expected, with impatience, the counsels and decrees of the supreme pontiff.

The council assembled by Urban for deciding on the propriety of this important enterprise met at Placentia, and was so fully attended, both by the clergy and laity of several European nations, that the session was held in a spacious plain adjacent to the city. The ambassadors of Alexius Comnenus strongly pleaded the distress of their sovereign, and the danger of Constantinople; and at the sad recital the assembly burst into tears, and were eager to embark immediately in this design; but the pope adjourned the final decision to a second synod, which met at Clermont in the autumn of the same year. The pontiff addressed a willing audience, and his exhortation was frequently interrupted with, "God wills it! God wills it!"— "It is, indeed, the will of God," replied the pope; "and let this memorable word be for ever "adopted as your cry of battle, to animate the "courage of the champions of Christ. His cross

A. D. 1095.

"is the symbol of your salvation; wear it—a "red and bloody cross, as a pledge of your "sacred and irrevocable engagement."

The proposal was joyfully accepted: vast numbers immediately impressed on their garments the sign of the cross: and the assembly, after a confession and absolution of their sins, were dismissed to collect their countrymen and friends; and their departure for the holy land was fixed to the feast of the assumption * of the ensuing year.

In the council of Clermont the pope proclaimed a plenary indulgence to those who should enlist under the banner of the cross, the absolution of all their sins, and an acquittance for all that might be due of canonical penance. The robber, the incendiary, the murderer, and thousands of inferior offenders, eagerly embraced the terms of atonement; which were further heightened by the hopes of plunder, and the desire of sensual gratifications. That ignorance which magnified their hopes, diminished the perils of the enterprise; and to defray their preparations, princes alienated their provinces, nobles their lands and castles, and peasants their cattle and agricultural implements.

Though the determined day of departure was not very distant, it was anticipated by a thoughtless crowd of sixty thousand persons of both sexes, from the confines of France and Lorrain, who flocked round Peter the Hermit, and prayed him to lead them to the holy sepulchre. The fanatick accordingly assumed the office of a general, for which he was totally unqualified, and

* The 15th of August.

led his votaries along the banks of the Rhine and the Danube. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate; and Walter, the Pennyless, a valiant though needy soldier, conducted the vanguard of the pilgrims. The footsteps of Peter were closely pursued by the monk Godescal, with some thousands of German peasants; and the rear was again pressed by two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, who mingled with their devotion a brutal licence of rapine, prostitution and ebriety. The persecution of the unfortunate Jews who lay in their way was the first warfare of those enthusiasts; and many thousands of that defenceless people were pillaged and massacred.

The savage nations, however, through which they marched, retaliated the wrongs they had done: and vast numbers of the crusaders were the victims of their indignation and revenge. About one third only of the naked fugitives, with Peter at their head, found means to reach Constantinople; and by the caution of the emperor Alexius were transported to the Asiatick side of the Bosphorus, and advised to wait the arrival of their brethren. But their blind impetuosity urged them to rush headlong against the Turks, who occupied the road to Jerusalem; and three hundred thousand of the first crusaders perished by the Turkish arrows, before their brethren, who had more reason in their madness, had completed the preparations of their enterprise.

In the first crusade, some of the great sovereigns of Europe embarked; but the religious ardour was strongly felt by the princes of the second order, who held important stations in the feudal system, which had been some time esta-

blished. Of the principal, the foremost in war and council, was Godfrey of Boulogne, a man whose valour was matured by prudence and moderation, and whose piety, though blind, was sincere. He was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin; and their confederate force was composed of fourscore thousand foot, and ten thousand horse. Hugh, count of Vermandois; Robert, duke of Normandy; Adhemar, bishop of Puy; Bohemond, son of Robert Guiscard, already famous for his double victory over the Greek emperor; and several other persons of note, had numerous trains of devotees to follow their standard.

The difficulty of procuring subsistence for the myriads of men and horses engaged in this holy warfare, induced the princes to separate their forces, and to appoint the neighbourhood of Constantinople for their place of rendezvous. Within nine months, from the feast of the assumption, the different generals with their detachments had reached that city; but the count of Vermandois, having fallen into the hands of the lieutenants of Alexius in his passage by sea, was produced as a captive.

The emperor of the East, indeed, who had only solicited a moderate succour to enable him to repel his enemies, beheld with astonishment the approach of so many potent chiefs and fanatick nations, with whose views he could not be properly acquainted, and whose designs he early began to distrust. A jealousy took place between the strangers and the natives; and Alexius is accused of an intention of starving or assaulting the crusaders, whom he had cooped up in a dangerous post. A doubtful conflict ensued;

when both parties listened to the voice of reason and religion; and the western warriors were persuaded to pass the Bosphorus; and occupy an advantageous camp in Asia.

A. D. 1097.

But it was with some difficulty that the French princes could be reconciled to take an oath of homage and fidelity to Alexius, and to engage that they should either restore or hold their Asiatick conquests, as the loyal vassals of the Roman empire: but the dexterous application of gifts and flattery, and the consideration that, without the concurrence of the emperor of the East, it would be impossible to perform their vow, at last induced them to comply; and the Latin grandees stooped at the foot of the throne of Alexius.

There are various accounts respecting the numbers of the first crusaders, some making them six hundred thousand, others reducing them to a sixth part. From their station in the neighbourhood of Nicomedia, they advanced in successive divisions, and commenced their pious warfare against the sultan Soliman, by besieging his capital Nice. Twice he sallied from the mountains in the vicinity to assault the camp of the Latins; but Nice was hard pressed by land and water; and the Greek emissary having persuaded the inhabitants to accept the protection of his master, the imperial banner was seen streaming from the citadel, amidst the murmurs of the crusaders.

The confederates next directed their march towards Phrygia; and Soliman, with the united force of the Turkman hordes, surprised the christian army near Dorylæum; but the valour

of Godfrey restored the battle, and the Turks, after an obstinate conflict, were obliged to yield to the superior strength of their antagonists. The sultan with the relicks of his army evacuated the kingdom of Roum, which extended from the Hellespont to the confines of Syria, and hastened to implore the aid of his eastern friends; while the crusaders pursued their triumphant march through the Lesser Asia; and Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, with a select detachment advanced to the gates of Edessa, and established in that city the first principality of the Franks and Latins, which subsisted fifty-four years, beyond the Euphrates.

The siege of Antioch was now formed during the inclemency of winter; and for seven months the lofty walls and intrepid garrison baffled the vain efforts of the besiegers. Famine, desertion, and fatigue, pervaded their camp; and Antioch probably would have mocked the rash enterprise of the crusaders, had not the ambitious Bohemond successfully employed the arms of cunning and deceit, for which he was rewarded with the sovereignty of the city. But the citadel still held out; the victors themselves were encompassed and besieged by the lieutenants of the sultan; and for the space of twenty-five days the crusaders were on the verge of destruction.

When brought to the lowest ebb, however, the confidence of the desponding soldiers was revived by the seasonable discovery of the *holy lance*. This pious fraud, as it seems to be, was the invention of Peter Bartholemy, a priest, who asserted, that St. Andrew in a vision had revealed to him, that the steel head of the lance

which had pierced our Saviour's side, was concealed near the high altar in the church of St. Peter; and that the apostle added, "bear it aloft in battle, and the mystick weapon shall penetrate the souls of the miscreants." Count Raymond, who probably was in the secret, eagerly embraced this revelation; and Bartholemy descending into the vault, produced the head of a Saracen lance, which was exhibited with a devout rapture; and the troops were again inflamed with an enthusiastick valour. Whatever might be the sentiments of the chiefs, they skilfully improved the decisive opportunity: the gates were thrown open; and on that memorable day, upwards of half a million of Turks and Arabians were put to the rout.

The decline of the Turkish empire facilitated the progress of the crusaders. The inheritance of Malek Shah was disputed by his four sons; and civil war swept off the bravest of the Turkish soldiers. The caliph of Egypt had recovered Jerusalem and Tyre, and restored in Palestine the authority of the Fatimites: having heard with astonishment the victories of the Christians, he offered the pilgrims a hospitable reception at the holy sepulchre, if they would lay down their arms. The proposals were rejected, though disease had reduced the Latins to forty thousand men, of whom little more than one half were capable of service. These, however, continued their march between Mount Libanus and the sea shore; advanced from Cæsarea into the midland country, and at last with exultation came in sight of Jerusalem.

A. D. 1099.

The holy city had derived some celebrity from

the number and importance of the memorable sieges it had undergone ; but its former bulwarks had been weakened, and a garrison of forty thousand men did not damp the courage of the crusaders. After having patiently endured every fatigue and every privation, the Christians were at length triumphant, and Godfrey mounted the walls of Jerusalem. His example was followed with emulation by his companions in arms ; and the holy city was rescued from the Mahometan yoke : the garrison and inhabitants were for three days abandoned to slaughter ; and the cruel conquerors were rather fatigued than satiated with shedding blood.

After the Franks had accomplished their vow, and bedewed with tears of joy the monument of their redemption, they judged it expedient to proceed to the election of a king, in order to secure their conquests in Palestine. Several competitors presented themselves from among the number of their chiefs ; but the free voice of the army proclaimed Godfrey the most worthy of the champions of christendom. His magnanimity accepted a trust as full of danger as it was of glory ; but the devout general refused the name and ensigns of royalty, and assumed the more appropriate title of " defender and baron of the holy sepulchre."

He had not many days accepted the government before he was summoned to the field ; and the overthrow of the sultan of Egypt in the battle of Ascalon, confirmed the establishment of the Latins in Syria, and signalised the valour of the French princes, who in this action bade adieu to holy wars. Godfrey could only retain, with the gallant leader

A. D. 1099.

Tancred, three hundred knights, and two thousand infantry, for the defence of his dominions. A new enemy soon attacked his sovereignty, in the person of Daimbert, archbishop of Pisa, who arriving in the holy land, was installed the spiritual and temporal head of the church. Godfrey was too much a bigot to popery to pretend to dispute the appointment of his spiritual head; and the archbishop's claim was compromised by the cession of a certain district to the church, with the reversion of the rest, in case the defender of the holy sepulchre died without issue, or obtained a new settlement.

The arms of the kings of Jerusalem successively extended their territories till they included a compass nearly equal to the kingdoms of Israel and Judah. In the reduction of the maritime cities, the fleets of Genoa, Venice, and Pisa, rendered essential service; and at last Hems, Hamah, Damascus, and Aleppo, were the only relicks of the Mahometan conquests in Syria. Yet, notwithstanding their defeats, the Turks and Saracens continually pressed on the frontiers, and must speedily have resumed their former sway, had it not been for the valour of the knights of the hospital of St. John, and of the temple of Solomon. These reconciled and united the opposite duties of a military and monastick life; and while they devoted themselves to the celibacy of the cloister, they were prompt, on occasions, to encounter the dangers and partake the hardships of the field. The gradual acquisition of twenty-eight thousand manors enabled them to support a regular force of cavalry and infantry; and notwithstanding the lapse of so many ages, and some destructive revolutions, the order still

maintains its reputation for courage, and possesses the rock of Malta.

The policy of the emperor Alexius Comnenus enabled him to reap the harvest which the bravery of the crusaders had sown. He had early secured Nice; and the Turks, menaced from that important station, evacuated the vicinity of Constantinople; while the imperial banner was soon displayed from the isles of Rhodes and Chios; and from the Hellespont to the banks of the Mæander, and the rocky shores of Pamphylia, the authority of the emperor was once more restored.

The murmurs of the Latins, however, loudly accused the conduct and sincerity of Comnenus; they had sworn allegiance to him in hopes of protection, but his selfish desertion of them implied a dissolution of the obligation. His arms, indeed, were employed in reviving or establishing his claims over Syria and Cilicia. Bohemond, prince of Antioch, had been surprised and captured; his ransom oppressed him with a heavy debt; and this determined him to relinquish the command of Antioch to his faithful kinsman Tancred, and to resume the bold designs of his father Guiscard, of arming the West against the Byzantine empire. Accordingly, he privately embarked, and crossed the hostile sea with secrecy and success. In France he experienced a favourable reception, and his dignity was advanced by his marriage with the king's daughter. The bravest warriors of the age embarked under his banner; and at the head of five thousand horse, and forty thousand foot, he repassed the Adriatick, and laid siege to Durazzo; but the strength of that city, the precautions of Alexius,

the pressure of famine, and the inclemency of the season discouraged his confederates, and sunk his hopes. A treaty of peace was negociated; and the death of Bohemond delivered the Greeks from a daring, faithless, and indefatigable adversary. His sons succeeded to the principality of Antioch, and acknowledged the supremacy of the Byzantine emperor. The power of the sultans was shaken by successive victories; they retired to Iconium, three hundred miles from the walls of Constantinople; and the first crusade may justly be said to have delayed the fall of the declining empire of the East.

The disorders of the times at once formed the glory and the misfortune of Alexius. At the head of his armies, he was bold in action, skilful in stratagem, patient of fatigue, ready to improve his advantages, and rising from his defeat with inexhaustible vigour. In his intercourse with the Latins he was subtle and discerning; and he balanced, with superior policy, the interests and the passions of the champions of the first crusade; but the long duration and severity of his reign, wearied the patience of Constantinople, and before Alexius expired, he had lost the love and reverence of his subjects. Even the sincerity of his moral and religious virtues seems to have been suspected by those who had the best opportunities of appreciating his character, from familiar intercourse. When pressed by his wife Irene and his daughter Anna, in his last hours, to alter the succession in favour of his son-in-law Bryennius, he breathed a pious ejaculation on the vanity of the world, but remained firm to the interest of his son John; on which the indignant empress replied, "You die as you have lived—an hypocrite."

John, the elder son of Alexius, succeeded to the throne; and in him the claims of primogeniture and merit were happily united. His younger brother Isaac was content with the title of Sebastocrator, which approached the dignity, without encroaching on the powers, of the emperor. Feared by his nobles, and beloved by his people, John abolished the penalty of death in all judicial proceedings; and by his virtues seemed to revive the character of Marcus Antoninus. His only defect, and it was enough to tarnish the lustre of all his other good qualities, was an inordinate love of arms, which the noblest minds, however, indulge, without reflecting on its fatal consequences. He was frequently engaged with the Turks, Scythians, Servians, and Huns; and made himself master of the kingdom of Armenia. From Constantinople to Antioch and Aleppo, he frequently marched at the head of a victorious army; and the Latins were astonished at the superior spirit and prowess of a Greek. As he was preparing for new conquests, in hunting the wild boar, a poisoned arrow from his quiver wounded his hand, and proved fatal to the best and greatest of the Comnenian princes, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. A. D. 1118. A. D. 1143.

John left two sons, Isaac and Manuel, but his impartial judgment decided in favour of the youngest, Manuel, and his choice was ratified by the approbation of the soldiers. Isaac soon acquiesced in the determination, and acquired the title of Sebastocrator.

The long reign of Manuel was filled by a perpetual warfare against the Turks, the Christians,

and the hordes of the desert beyond the Danube. The details which are handed down to us of his personal exploits, may induce a reasonable suspicion of the veracity of the Greeks. Such were his strength and practice in arms, that Raymond, surnamed the Hercules of Antioch, was incapable of wielding the lance and buckler of the emperor of the East. Ever foremost to provoke, or to accept a single combat, the champions who encountered his arm were transpierced by his lance, or cut asunder by his sword; but with the valour of a soldier he did not unite the skill or prudence of a general; and his Turkish laurels were blasted by his last campaign, in which he lost his army in the mountains of Pisidia. Hardy and abstemious in the field, he resigned himself at Constantinople to the arts and pleasures of a life of luxury. The double expense of a warrior and a debauchee exhausted the revenue, and multiplied the taxes; and Manuel, in the distress of his last Turkish expedition, endured a bitter sarcasm from the lips of a desperate soldier. As he quenched his thirst at a fountain, he complained that the water was mingled with Christian blood. "It is not the "first time, O emperor!" exclaimed a voice from the crowd, "that you have drunk the "blood of your christian subjects."

In this reign the second crusade was undertaken by Conrad III. emperor of Germany, and Louis VII. king of France. The nobles were animated by the presence of their sovereigns; seventy thousand knights, with their immediate attendants, swelled the cavalry to four hundred thousand; and if to these are added the infantry and the monks, the

A. D. 1147.

women and the children, the aggregate number must exceed belief, and will almost defy computation; yet this force, which threatened the extinction of the Moslems, served only to expose the incessant misfortunes of an holy war. The Germans were urged by emulation, the French were retarded by jealousy; and Louis had scarcely passed the Bosphorus, when he met the vanquished emperor returning with the remnant of his army, from a glorious, but unsuccessful action on the banks of the Mæander. The fate of the French monarch was almost similar. He was surprised and surrounded by the Turks, as he pursued his march with inconsiderate rashness. With difficulty Louis escaped from the fatal arrows of his enemies; and after sheltering the relicks of his hosts in the friendly port of Satalia, he embarked for Antioch; and with Conrad joined the Christian powers of Syria, in the fruitless siege of Damascus. Baffled in this final effort, the two monarchs were content to embark for Europe, and their sole acquisition was the personal fame of piety and courage. These crusaders made the same complaint against Manuel, as had been made against his grandfather Alexius, and the same apology will serve for both.

The daughter of Manuel, by his first wife, was destined for Bela, an Hungarian prince, who was educated at Constantinople; but the subsequent marriage of the emperor with Maria, a princess of Antioch, was productive of a son, on whom the name of Alexius was bestowed; and the Hungarian, thus deprived of the hopes of an empire, resigned his pretensions to his bride, and returned to his former station.

Andronicus, the younger son of Isaac, and cousin to the emperor, was dexterous in the use of arms, incapable of fear, and possessed of a ready eloquence. In his youth, as he followed the retreat of the Roman army, he was surprised by the Turks, and remained some time in the power of the sultan. Both his virtues and his vices recommended him to the partial affections of his cousin; he shared his perils and participated in his pleasures: and while the emperor lived in publick incest with his niece Theodora, the regard of his sister Eudocia was enjoyed by Andronicus: but his treasonable correspondence with the king of Hungary and the emperor of Germany, roused the indignation of Manuel, and procured him an imprisonment of twelve years. At the expiration of this period, Andronicus escaped from his confinement, and traversing several savage and inhospitable countries, reached Kiow, the residence of the Russian prince. In this remote region, he deserved the forgiveness of Manuel, by persuading his patron to join the arms of the emperor in the invasion of Hungary. At the head of the Russian cavalry, Andronicus marched from the Borysthenes to the Danube, and by his valour obtained a free pardon.

His patriotism, however, in refusing an oath of allegiance to the presumptive heir of the empire, again brought Andronicus under the displeasure of Manuel; and by seducing Philippa, the sister of the empress, he excited his resentment. With a band of desperate adventurers, Andronicus now undertook the pilgrimage of Jerusalem, where he captivated the affections of the young and beautiful widow of Baldwin III.

king of Jerusalem. Driven from Palestine, he retired, with his wife and his banditti, among the Turks of Asia Minor, and at length implored the clemency, and received a pardon from the emperor. But the just suspicion of Manuel fixed the residence of his daring and ambitious relative at Oenoe, a town of Pontus.

The emperor feeling his end approaching, assumed the monastick habit, which he considered as expiatory of the profligacy in which he had passed a long life; and on his death left the crown to his son Alexius, a boy of twelve years of age, and consequently without vigour or wisdom. The disorders of the state opened the fairest field to the ambition of Andronicus, of which he speedily availed himself. The empress Maria had abandoned her person and government to one of her husband's favourites; her daughter-in-law, also named Maria, had excited an insurrection; a civil war was kindled in Constantinople; the most respectable patriots called aloud for a guardian and avenger of the young emperor; and every tongue repeated the praises of Andronicus. A. D. 1180.

Arrived near Constantinople, all opposition sunk before him; and the Byzantine navy sailed from the harbour to receive and transport the saviour of the empire. On his entering the imperial city, his first cares were to salute the emperor, to confine Maria, to punish her minister, and to restore publick order and tranquillity. Alexius was crowned with due solemnity; but the adherents of Andronicus were taught to clamour, that the Romans could only be saved by a veteran prince, bold in arms, skilful in policy, and instructed to reign by the long expe-

rience of fortune and of mankind. Alexius, therefore, was doomed to receive a colleague, who soon degraded him from the first rank; condemned and executed his mother; and at last strangled the helpless and unfortunate youth in the fifteenth year of his age. As the sanguinary tyrant surveyed the corpse, he struck it rudely with his foot, and exclaimed, "Thy father was "a knave, thy mother a whore, and thyself a "fool."

The usurper now destroyed, without distinction, all whom he believed attached to the family of Alexius, or capable of avenging his death. Scarcely a day passed unsullied by some cruel execution, and in a short time the flower of the nobility was exterminated; yet the reckless tyrant complained of the severity of his fortune, which prevented him showing his clemency, and with an apparent zeal for religion, was a hypocrite deliberately cruel. After participating in the holy mysteries, he would turn from the altar, and give orders for torture and assassination. The people at length grew tired of the bloody spectacle; and their detestation was at last roused to action. Isaac Angelus, a descendant in the female line from the great Alexius, had fled from the imperial executioner, and taken refuge in the church of St. Sophia. The lamentations of the crowd, who had sought the same sanctuary, were soon converted into curses: the city burst into a general sedition; the name of Isaac was re-echoed by innumerable acclamations; and Andronicus, deserted by his guards, after in vain attempting to save himself by sea, was abandoned to the rage of the populace. His teeth, his hair, an eye, and a hand, were succes-

sively torn from him; and being suspended for three days, every person who could reach the publick enemy inflicted on him some mark of ingenious or brutal cruelty, till at length two Italians, out of mercy or rage, plunging their swords into his body, released him from all human punishment. During this long and painful agony, "Lord have mercy on me!" and "Why "will you break a bruised reed?" were the only words that escaped his mouth; and our hatred for the tyrant, at the contemplation of what he suffered, must be lost in pity for the man. Andronicus was seventy-three years old when he seized the throne, and in two years after he was precipitated from it by this cruel death.

Isaac Angelus gained the affections of the common people by his gentleness and moderation; and by recalling the banished, and raising several families which had fallen from their ancient splendour, he ingratiated himself with the great. He received the reward of his benevolence in the attachment evinced by his subjects on the revolt of Branas, one of his generals, who besieged him in Constantinople. The emperor, who was no warrior, devoutly recommended himself to the prayers of the monks, and placing an image of the virgin on the summit of the walls, remained quietly in his palace; but a leader of the crusades, the marquis of Mountserrat, soon convinced him that these precautions were ineffectual to his safety; and Isaac mustering resolution from necessity, put himself at the head of the inhabitants, and killed Branas with his own hands. A. D. 1184.

Five years after the accession of Isaac, the third crusade was undertaken. The grand division was led by the emperor A. D. 1189.

Frederick Barbarossa: the French and English who embarked in this expedition, preferred the navigation of the Mediterranean; yet Frederick mustered in the plains of Hungary fifteen thousand knights and as many esquires, sixty thousand horse, and one hundred thousand foot. The veteran genius of the chief imparted confidence to his companions and soldiers; and the Turks were awed by the fame of a prince, who had signalised himself in forty campaigns. Disease and famine, however, pursued the fainting steps of the Christians through the deserts; and when they reached the gates of Iconium, no more than one thousand knights were capable of service; yet by a resolute assault they stormed the capital of the sultan, who sued in vain for pardon and peace: but as the victorious Frederick advanced into Cilicia, he was unfortunately drowned in the petty stream of Calycadnus. The remainder of his forces was consumed by sickness and desertion; and the emperor's son, with the greatest part of his Suabian vassals, expired at the siege of Acre, in which Richard * of England, surnamed Cœur de Lion, reaped never-fading laurels.

That successive generations should thus have rushed headlong down the precipice before them, may excite, according to our different feelings, either pity or astonishment; but it was with terror and aversion that the Greeks beheld

* With the name of Richard, it is impossible not to associate that of Sir Sidney Smith, whenever Acre is mentioned; and if their objects and their achievements are impartially considered, the fame of the latter is not only the most glorious, but deserves to be most durable.

the numbers and characters of the crusaders. The apprehension of the Turkish powers for a time suspended their open enmity, but when the sultan was driven to the distant retreat of Iconium, the Byzantine princes more freely expressed their indignation at the frequent passage of the western fanaticks, who violated the majesty, and endangered the safety, of the empire. Religious zeal inflamed those profane causes of national hatred. Schismatick and heretick were the names applied by the Christians of the East to their brethren of the West; and the Greek clergy in the crusade of Louis VII. washed and purified the altars which had been defiled by the sacrifice of a French priest. In the tumult which raised Andronicus to the throne, the unhappy foreigners were exposed to the unrelenting cruelty of popular fury; and the most grateful sight to the persecutors was the head of a Roman cardinal, the pope's legate, fastened to the tail of a dog, and dragged through the city. The few who escaped, spread over Europe an account of the wealth and weakness, the perfidy and the malice, of the Greeks; and in the sequel, the French and the Venetians were invited, and almost compelled, to achieve what the first crusaders had rejected—the conquest of the empire of the East.

The indolence of the emperor Isaac was almost as intolerable to his subjects as the active vices of his predecessors. His luxury swelled the annual expenses of the palace to four millions sterling, while the remains of the Greek empire were daily becoming less. The isle of Cyprus had been usurped by another Isaac of the Comnenian line; and by the sword of Richard

of England, it was transferred to Guy of Lusignan, at the same time that the very existence of the monarchy was threatened by the revolt of the Bulgarians and Wallachians. These barbarians had for a considerable number of years acknowledged an honourable subjection to the Byzantine princes; but the luxury of Isaac tempting him to invade their private property, the rights of the people were vindicated by Peter and Asan, two powerful chiefs of the race of the ancient kings; and after an ineffectual resistance on the part of the Greek emperor, the second kingdom of Bulgaria was established.

The Bulgarians in general prayed for the continuance of the disgraceful reign of Isaac; but their chiefs having recovered their original independence, regarded the Greek nation with contempt rather than fear of future molestation. "In all the Greeks," said Asan to his troops, "the same climate, character, and education, "will be productive of the same effect. Be- "hold my lance," continued the warrior, "and "the long streamers that float in the wind. They "differ only in colour: they are composed of "the same silk, and fashioned by the same work- "man; nor has the stripe that is stained with "purple any superior price or value above its "fellows."

The disastrous and unpopular reign of Isaac at length furnished a pretext to his ungrateful brother Alexius to subvert his throne. The emperor was seized at Stagyra in Macedonia, conducted to Constantinople, deprived of sight, and shut up in a lonesome tower; while his son Alexius, in the disguise of a common sailor, escaping to an Italian vessel,

A D. 1195.

passed the Hellespont, and found a secret refuge in Sicily. As he was traversing Italy on a visit to his sister Irene, wife of Philip, king of the Romans, he heard, with pleasure, that the bravest warriors of the West were assembled at Venice on a new crusade; and from their swords he implored and hoped the restoration of his father, and the recovery of his own rights.

Thibaut, count of Champagne, and Louis, of Blois, and Chartres, with a crowd of prelates and barons, had been instigated to assume the cross; but they regarded with terror the dangers of an expedition by land; and the maritime states were alone possessed of the means of transporting the holy warriors. The Venetians, who by this time had risen to great power, were solicited to aid the enterprise with their ships; and in Henry Dandolo, the reigning doge, they found a ready patron and friend. The martial pilgrims were to assemble at Venice on the feast of St. John, and an agreement was entered into between the French princes and the Venetians, and ratified by the Pope, that a certain sum of money should be paid for the transportation of the crusaders, and that all conquests should be equally divided among the confederates. A. D. 1202.

New difficulties, however, occurred in the execution of this treaty. Thibaut had been unanimously chosen general of the confederates; but on his unexpected death, not a prince of France could be found both willing and able to conduct the enterprise. The Franks turned their eyes on a stranger, Boniface, count of Mountserrat, illustrious for his birth and his valour; and under his conduct the martial pil-

grims proceeded to Venice. It appeared, however, that their zeal had exceeded their ability, as thirty-four thousand marks were wanting to complete their treaty with the Venetians. In this dilemma, the doge Dandolo proposed to the barons, that if they would join the arms of the republick, in reducing some fortified cities of Dalmatia, he would expose his person in the holy war, and obtain from his republick an indulgence till some conquest should enable them to discharge the debt. The terms were accepted; and the venerable Dandolo assumed the cross at above ninety years of age. The first efforts of the fleet and army were directed against Zara, which speedily surrendered; and the advanced season compelled the confederates to establish their winter quarters in the vicinity. The inhabitants of Zara, however, having claimed the protection of the king of Hungary, who was himself enlisted under the banners of the cross, an appeal was brought before the Pope: the thunders of the Vatican admonished the confederates of their guilt, in attempting conquests over their brethren in arms; and though absolution was promised, the high-spirited Venetians disdained to accept of pardon, or to make restitution.

The young Alexius attached himself to the crusaders, and was strongly supported by their chiefs. On his part, he promised, in his own and his father's name, that as soon as they were re-seated on the throne of Constantinople, they would submit themselves and their subjects to the Roman church, recompense the crusaders with two hundred thousand marks of silver, and either accompany them in person to Egypt, or

maintain a stipulated force for the service of the holy land. The republick of Venice acceded to the terms; but all the eloquence of Dandolo and Boniface could not prevail on more than the counts of Flanders, Blois, and St. Pol, with eight barons of France, to join in the glorious enterprise. Numbers distinguished for valour and piety withdrew from the camp, nor would they embrue their hands in christian blood.

Undismayed by this defection, the Venetians urged the departure of the fleet and army; and the adventurers, whose numbers might amount to 40,000, set sail with a favourable wind, and receiving the submission of Negropont and Andros, cast anchor before Chalcedon. On the third day after, the fleet and army moved towards the Asiatick suburbs of Constantinople; and a detachment of five hundred Greek cavalry soon fled before eighty armed knights.

The usurper Alexius had despised the first rumour of his nephew's alliance with the French and Venetians; and in consequence had made no opposition to their approach, which his navy might easily have done. He now beheld with terror and consternation their camp pitched in sight of his palace; but dissembling his fears, he menaced the daring adventurers with the imperial resentment, should they presume to infringe the rights of the empire. The doge and barons made a bold and decisive reply. "Let "the ungrateful usurper acknowledge his guilt, "and implore forgiveness, and we ourselves will "intercede that he may be permitted to live in af- "fluence and security; but let him not insult us "with a second message, or our reply will be "made in arms, within the very walls of his "palace."

The passage of the Bosphorus was still an attempt big with peril: the liquid fire of the Greeks might be conveyed down the current; and the opposite shores were lined with 70,000 men. Undaunted, however, the confederates arranged themselves in different divisions under approved leaders; and they effected their purpose, without encountering either an enemy or an obstacle. Scarcely had the gallant knights thrown themselves on the shore, when the Grecian army vanished from their sight: the tower of Galata, in the suburb of Pera, was stormed by the French, the Venetian fleet broke the chain which guarded the harbour; and a capital, containing nearly half a million of inhabitants, was besieged by 20,000 Latins.

Hunger and scarcity soon prevailed through the camp of the besiegers; and the usurper was animated by the resolution of his son-in-law, Theodore Lascaris, who recalled the pusillanimous Greeks to the defence of their religion, as he knew they were regardless of their country. A breach was made in the walls; but the Franks attempting to enter it, were oppressed by superior numbers. The naval attack of the Venetians had been more successful: the standard of the republick was already fixed on the rampart, when the aged doge being informed of the distress of his allies, drew off his troops to their support, and found them encompassed by the squadrons of the Greeks. The emperor, dismayed by the approach of succour, withdrew his formidable host; and deserting his family, his people, and his empire, passed the Bosphorus in the night, and reached an obscure

harbour in Thrace, carrying with them the imperial ornaments and treasure.

The Greek nobles, as soon as they were apprised of the abdication of Alexius, raised Isaac from the dungeon to the throne; and the confederates at dawn of day, were surprised by a message from the lawful emperor, who was impatient to embrace his son, and to evince his gratitude to his deliverers.

Isaac cheerfully ratified the engagements which his son had contracted; and the young Alexius, with his father, was solemnly crowned in the church of St. Sophia. It was agreed by both parties, that the re-union of the Greek and the Latin church should be left to time and political address; but the pressing wants of the crusaders were relieved by the disbursement of a large sum, and the suburbs of Galata and Pera were assigned for their quarters. By the proper application of 1600 pounds of gold, the young emperor persuaded the confederates to defer the deliverance of the holy land to another year, and engaged the marquis of Mountserrat to attend him with an army in the tour of the provinces; while Baldwin, with the French and Flemish crusaders, awed by their presence the fickle inhabitants of the capital. A. D. 1203.

The popularity and prosperity of Alexius were of short duration. While he was receiving the homage of distant provinces, the citizens of Constantinople detested him as an apostate, who had renounced the manners and religion of his country for the sake of aggrandizement. His secret covenant with the crusaders, was more than suspected: the people were devoutly attached to their mode of faith, and every house

resounded with the danger of the church, and the dreaded tyranny of the pontiff of Rome.

On the other hand, the pious fervour of the crusaders was scandalised at the toleration of a Turkish mosque within the walls of Constantinople; and the flames which they kindled for the destruction of that building spread into the thickest and most populous parts of the city. The conscious Latins retired from the indignation of the inhabitants to their station at Pera; and Alexius, on his return, balancing the different claims of patriotism and gratitude, lost the favour of his allies, without securing the affections of his people. The chiefs of the West pressed him with their importunities, and declared that unless their just claims were fully and immediately satisfied, they would no longer regard him as a sovereign or an ally, but take means of enforcing their demands by arms.

The imperial family was despised in the eyes both of the Greeks and Latins; and the citizens of Constantinople dreading the impending catastrophe, clamoured round the senate, demanding a more worthy emperor. This disposition among the commonalty engaged John Ducas, of the former imperial house, from the thickness of his eye brows surnamed Murtzuphlus, to attempt usurping the sovereign dignity. In order to effectuate his design, he prepossessed the young emperor against the Latins, whom he had hitherto protected; and playing off the one party against the other, rendered both odious to the people, and fanned the flame of disaffection. Still, however, he retained the confidence of the young emperor, to whose person his office of great chamberlain

gave him easy access. By this faithless minister Alexius was deluded into a dungeon; and the insults which he suffered for some days, were terminated by a cruel death from the hand of Murtzuphlus himself. Isaac Angelus soon followed his unfortunate son to the grave; and as the ostensible views of the traitor were popular, he was immediately proclaimed emperor.

On this shocking tragedy being acted, the French and Venetians, forgetting the cause of their complaints against Alexius, swore revenge against the perfidious Murtzuphlus and his adherents. Yet the doge, with the cool prudence of age, was disposed to negociate, if the usurper would sacrifice the Greek church to the safety of the state; but this being refused, hostilities were resorted to on both sides. After various operations, attended with no decisive effects, the confederates at length had completed their preparations for a general assault. For two days the intrepid crusaders were obliged to yield to superiority of numbers, and the advantages of ground; but on the third, their valour surmounted every obstacle of nature and art, and the banners of the Latins were seen floating on the walls of Constantinople. The Greeks deserted their posts and threw down their arms; and the usurper, hopeless and abandoned, escaped by favour of a small vessel, carrying with him Euphrosyne, widow of Alexius Angelus, and her daughter Eudoxia, for whom he had forsaken his lawful wife. This great revolution took place eight hundred and seventy-four years after the seat of empire was transferred from Rome to Constantinople.

A. D. 1202.

A. D. 1204.

The capital of the East having been taken by storm, religion and humanity alone restrained the passions of the conquerors. Two thousand of the unresisting Greeks perished in the first excesses of victory; but Boniface anxiously and honourably exerted himself to save the lives of his fellow Christians, though he allowed his soldiers free scope to indulge their avarice, which was glutted to the full. The plunder was collected and thrown into a common stock: a single share was allotted for a foot soldier; two for a serjeant on horseback; four to a knight; and larger proportions, according to the rank and influence of the barons and princes. The secret spoils probably exceeded the publick; yet the magnitude of what were divided exceeded all expectation; and after a fair allotment between the French and Venetians, the sum in arrears by the former to the latter was deducted and discharged.

The fate of this city was singular. It had been erected by Constantine as the capital of the East, and it was taken by the valour of the West, which he had deserted; while the champions of the religion he had established, plundered the palace of the first imperial protector of Christianity. The ornaments which had been transported from Rome to adorn the new metropolis, became the prey of the Latin victors; the sacred vessels of the Greeks were converted into drinking cups; and the churches profaned by the unreflecting zeal of men who considered themselves as the orthodox, but who ought to have respected the temples of their common master.

In this pillage, and the consequent devas-

tation, posterity has to regret the numerous works of art which were defaced or melted down by the gross avarice of the crusaders; the statues of brass, which were coined into money to pay the holy vagrants; and the invaluable works of genius in every branch of literature, which were destroyed by the negligence or contempt of ignorant pilgrims. In the insolence of conquest a conflagration was kindled, which consumed in a few hours a great part of the city; and in this many of the writings of antiquity, which are known to have existed down to that time, are supposed to have unfortunately perished.

CHAP. XXIX.

From the Latin Conquest to the Restoration of the Greek Empire.

THE Latin empire of Constantinople, which lasted about sixty years, is to be considered as fixed to that city, and circumscribed within a greater or less extent, according to the successes or the reverses of the Greeks, Turks, and Bulgarians, and even the Latins, who assailed it in all quarters. The crusades, which had paved the way to the revolution we have just recorded, had not yet spent their force; and before we commence the brief history of the Latin emperors of Constantinople, it will not be uninteresting to give some account of those succeeding emigrations of devotees, which had such a considerable influence on the East, and still more on the manners and institutions of Europe.

We have already seen that the fourth crusade was diverted from Syria to Constantinople. The fifth was directed against Egypt, the great source of the wealth and power of the sultan; and, after a long siege, Damietta was taken; but the insolence of the legate Pelagius ruined the cause of the Christian army, and a safe retreat was ingloriously purchased, by the restitution of that city.

A. D. 1218. About ten years afterwards Frederick the Second, the grandson of Barbarossa, assumed the badge of the cross, and en-

tered Jerusalem in triumph; but while he was vanquishing the enemies of Christ, he was recalled by an interdict of the church, after concluding a treaty which restored to the Latins Jerusalem, Bethlem, Tyre, Sidon, and some other cities. Jerusalem, however, had scarcely regained a moderate share of its former prosperity, when it was pillaged by the Carizmeans, as they rolled headlong on Syria, in their flight from the arms of the Great Mogul. On this occasion the ravages and profanations were so great, that the actions of the Turks and Saracens were either forgotten or obliterated.

A sixth and seventh crusade were undertaken by Louis the Ninth, king of France. In the sixth he landed near Damietta with ten thousand horse, and one hundred and thirty thousand foot. The city was abandoned on the first assault; but this advantage bounded his fond hopes of conquest. An epidemical disease broke out in his camp; and with languid steps the French advanced towards the capital of Egypt. The inconsiderate valour of the count of Artois precipitated his own destruction and the fate of the army. Louis, hopeless of retreat, and destitute of provisions, was obliged to surrender with the greatest part of his nobles; and his liberty was purchased by the payment of four hundred thousand pieces of gold. Sixteen years, however, obliterated the remembrance of his sufferings; and Louis once more assumed the cross, and embarked for Africa, with the extravagant design of baptising the king of Tunis; but before he could obtain possession of his city, a burning fever seized the enthusiastick Frank, and he expired in his tent, A. D. 1249.

while his son and successor, impatient to possess the vacant throne, made haste to return from this idle expedition.

During these transactions a new revolution took place in Egypt, and the Mamelukes, originally natives of Tartary, who were purchased at a tender age, and educated in the camp and palace of the sultan, having murdered Touran Shah, the last of the race of Saladin, extended their sway from Egypt over Nubia, Arabia, and Syria. The Latin principality of Antioch was extinguished, and the maritime towns of Laodicia, Tripoli, Sidon, Tyre, and Jaffa, successively fell. The Franks were confined to the city of Acre; and about forty years after the first establishment of the Mamelukes, that city was invested by the Sultan Khalil, with an immense army. The courage of the Franks was rekindled by despair, and for thirty-three days they maintained the incessant attacks of the Mahometans; but the walls being forced in all directions, sixty thousand Christians were devoted either to death or slavery, and the remnant, with the king of Jerusalem at their head, effecting their retreat to the sea-coast, at length escaped to Cyprus.

To return from this digressive detail of collateral events. The French and Venetians having previously stipulated to divide such possessions as they might conquer, six electors of each nation were named to choose the future emperor of the East. To him the title and prerogatives of the Byzantine throne, with one quarter of the Greek monarchy, were assigned; and it was determined equally to share the three remaining portions between the republick of Ve-

nice and the barons of France; but that each feudatory, with an honourable exception in favour of the doge, should acknowledge and perform the duties of homage and military service to the supreme head of the empire.

The twelve electors being assembled, their unanimous voices pronounced Dandolo worthy of the imperial purple; but the venerable patriot was satisfied with the honour of the nomination, and declined the office. Baldwin, count of Flanders and Hainault, was then solemnly proclaimed, and his competitor, the marquis of Mountserrat, was the first to kiss the hand of the new sovereign. The Venetians were allowed to nominate a patriarch; and this revolution was confirmed by pope Innocent, while the ambassadors of Baldwin announced his accession to the diadems of Palestine, France, and Rome.

Thrace, with an absolute authority over the Greek provinces, was appropriated to the emperor. A moiety of the remainder was reserved for Venice, and the other moiety was distributed among the adventurers of France and Lombardy. The brave and aged Dandolo was proclaimed chief of Romania, and closed his long and glorious career at Constantinople. The Venetians extended their settlements along the coast from Ragusa to the Hellespont, and obtained the isles of the Archipelago. Thessaly was erected into a kingdom for the marquis of Mountserrat: the lots of the Latin pilgrims were regulated by chance or choice. Each baron, at the head of his adherents, attempted to secure the possession of his share: numerous quarrels of necessity arose among men whose sole umpire

was the sword; and three months after the conquest of Constantinople, the hostile preparations of the empire and the king of Thessalonica were only abandoned, at the powerful mediation of their mutual friends.

After this arrangement, which subverted the ancient fabrick of the constitution, two persons still remained as the objects of jealousy from their former possession of power. Murtzuphlus was seized, and precipitated from a column 147 feet high; and Alexius, the brother of Isaac, was sent to end his days in a monastery of Asia. Theodorus Lascaris, however, the son-in-law of the latter, a man of signal resolution, having escaped to Anatolia, fixed his residence at Nice, and established his independent authority over Prusa, Philadelphia, Smyrna, and Ephesus. Alexius, the lineal heir of Comneni, had been appointed duke of Trebizond; and, without changing his title, the publick confusion allowed him to extend his dominions from Sinope to the Phasis. An illegitimate descendant of the Angeli founded a strong principality in Epirus, Ætolia, and Thessaly; and some of those enumerated independent states reflected a lustre on their rulers and the times.

John, the revolted chief of the Bulgarians and Wallachians, paid an unwilling homage to the Latin conquerors; and finding the Greeks also discontented, he made a common cause with them. No sooner had Henry, the new emperor's brother, conveyed his troops beyond the Hellespont, than the signal of insurrection was given: the Latins were massacred by their slaves; and the furious multitude expelled the French and Venetians from the city of

Adrianople. The rapid advance of the Bulgarian chief, at the head of a formidable army of barbarians, increased the general consternation; the emperor recalled his brother; but the ardent spirit of Baldwin not suffering him to wait for his tardy arrival, he attempted the siege of Adrianople, and being precipitated into an action by the rashness of the count of Blois, after an ineffectual display of personal valour, the emperor became the captive of his barbarian foe.

The victors delaying to press their good fortune to the full, the venerable doge and the marshal Villehardouin found means to retire to the sea-coast; and the skill and firmness of the latter, in a retreat of three days, did him immortal honour. At Rodosto they were joined by Henry and his troops, who had landed from the Asiatick shore. In the exigency of their affairs, Henry assumed the regency of the empire; and intelligence soon after arriving, that Baldwin had been put to a most cruel death, notwithstanding the powerful interference of his friends to procure his liberation, the regent consented to take upon him the imperial dignity.

Henry mounted a throne encompassed with dangers, and the difficulties with which he was pressed demanded incessant exertion to obviate or remove them. The venerable Dandolo, a warrior to the last, had sunk under the pressure of accumulated years; the king of Thessalonica, in the moment of victory, had been mortally wounded by the Bulgarians; and other friends of the Latin empire were either dead or had lost their influence; yet Henry, unsupported, and almost alone, acquired A. D. 1206.

the character of a valiant knight, and a skilful commander.

Ever foremost on shipboard or on horseback, the drooping Latins were roused by his example, or inspired by his presence. The fickle Greeks already repented their connexion with John, the tyrant of Bulgaria, who no longer dissembled his intention of transplanting the inhabitants of Thrace beyond the Danube.

The voice of nature called on Henry to revenge his brother's wrongs, and the cries of the unhappy Thracians melted his heart. He took the field against the barbarians; repulsed the Bulgarian monarch, and soon had the satisfaction to find that the ferocious tyrant John was assassinated as he lay in his tent. The Latin emperor, after repeated victories, concluded an honourable peace with the successor of John, and with the Greek princes of Nice and Epirus; but having presumed to curb the insolence and avarice of a domineering clergy, he died after a reign of eleven years, not without the suspicion of poison.

The barons of France now raised to the throne Peter, of Courtenay, count of Auxerre, cousin to the French king, and brother-in-law to the late emperor. In order to assert his title to the empire of the East, this ambitious prince had mortgaged the best part of his patrimony, and by the assistance of Philip of France, passed the Alps at the head of a body of knights, and was crowned by the pope Honorius. The Venetians, at that period the carriers of Europe, transported Peter and his forces beyond the Adriatick, on condition that he should recover Durazzo for them, from the despot Theodorus Angelus.

The emperor, however, after making an effectual assault on the place, advanced towards Thessalonica; but soon becoming entangled in the mountains of Epirus, he was arrested at a treacherous banquet, by the prince of that country, and terminated a hopeless captivity, either by a natural or violent death.

His eldest son, Philip, preferred his maternal inheritance of Namur to a throne exposed to such a variety of hazards; but the next brother, Robert, with more ambition than prudence, accepted the splendid boon, and was crowned by the patriarch in the cathedral of St. Sophia.

During his calamitous reign the French were pressed on all sides by the Greeks of Nice and Epirus. Theodorus Angelus expelled the son of Boniface from Thessalonica, and having erected his standard on the walls of Adrianople, assumed the title of emperor. John Vataces, the son-in-law and successor of Theodorus Lascaris, seized the residue of the provinces of Asia: his fleets commanded the Hellespont, and having reduced the islands of Lesbos and Rhodes, attacked the Venetians of Candia, and intercepted the succours of the West. A. D. 1221.

The unhappy Robert, at once oppressed by publick misfortunes and personal wrongs, found refuge only in the grave, from the intolerable weight of his calamities. He died after an unfortunate reign of nine years, during which he enjoyed the single satisfaction of taking prisoner the despot Theodorus, his father's enemy, whose eyes he caused to be put out.

Baldwin, of Courtenay, had been born during the captivity of his father Peter, and was now

only eight years of age. Though dear to the barons of Romania, they saw the impolicy of investing a child with the purple in such a critical situation of affairs, and therefore conferred that honour on John de Brienne, the titular king of Jerusalem; on condition that Baldwin should marry his second daughter, and succeed, at a mature age, to the throne of Constantinople.

The age of Brienne exceeded fourscore years, nor had time impaired his faculties, or diminished the military reputation of his youthful years. Yet the commencement of his reign was spent in tranquil repose, till he was aroused by the formidable alliance of Vataces, emperor of Nice, and of Azan, king of Bulgaria. At the head of his army, the aged hero sallied from the walls of his capital: the hosts of his enemies fled before the lightning of his sword; and the citizens, animated by his example, boarded the hostile galleys near the walls, and dragged twenty-five of them into the harbour of Constantinople. The following year witnessed other triumphs over the same enemy; and the last moments of the veteran monarch were dedicated to religion in the habit of a Franciscan monk. He swayed the sceptre about nine years, and left it to his son-in-law, Baldwin.

A. D. 1237. The life and reign of Baldwin were unprofitably wasted in soliciting the cold compassion of the princes of Europe: but the Christians of the West beheld with frigid indifference the expiring empire of the East; and either dealt their bounties with a sparing hand, or churlishly denied them. Even the Roman pontiff confined his liberality to the procla-

mation of a crusade, and the cheap proffer of indulgences, which already began to sink in the publick estimation. Yet superstition had not essentially lost its force: Constantinople was still in possession of the identical crown of thorns, as it was believed, which had been placed on our Saviour's head at the time of his crucifixion; and this relick was of such reputed value, that it was pledged to the Venetians for £7000 sterling, and 10,000 marks of silver were afterwards given to Baldwin to complete the purchase, on the part of the king of France.

Vataces in successive campaigns had triumphed over the Bulgarians, and reduced the limits of their sovereignty. The kingdom of Thessalonica was added to the empire of Nice; but the restoration of the Greeks was suspended by the death of Vataces, the fugitive reign of his son Theodorus, and the helpless infancy of his grandson John. That young prince, indeed, was oppressed by the inordinate ambition of Michael Palæologus, who possessed all the virtues and vices that qualify a man for rising to sovereign power.

Intent on the conquest of Constantinople, his designs were promoted by the Genoese, the rivals of the republick of Venice: the Latins were gradually driven from their last possessions in Thrace; the suburb of Galata was assaulted; and in the ensuing spring his favourite general, Alexius Strategopulus, passed the Hellespont, and reinforcing his army with rebels and outlaws, advanced in the night with a select detachment to the gates of Constantinople. At this time the bravest of the French and Venetians were absent: the scaling ladders were applied; and part of the

volunteers were conducted, by a subterraneous passage into the heart of the city. The air soon
A. D. resounded with a general acclamation of
1261. "Long life and victory to Michael and John, the august emperors of the Romans!" and Baldwin, in consternation and dismay, escaping to the sea-shore, was conveyed to Italy, and spent the remainder of his life in vainly attempting to rouse the catholick powers to join in his restoration. Thus the Latin empire of the East, which commenced under a Baldwin, terminated under an emperor of the same name.

CHAP. XXX.

From the Restoration of the Greek Empire, to the final Conquest of Constantinople by the Turks.

PALÆOLOGUS, who had effected this revolution at Constantinople, was son of the elder sister of the wife of Theodorus Lascaris, and had the law of female descent been strictly observed, might have urged her superior pretensions to the throne. In fact, the descent of Palæologus, and the imprudence of his adherents, had exposed him to the suspicion of aiming at the sovereignty in the reign of Vataces. To exculpate himself from this, he was advised by the archbishop of Philadelphia, a dexterous courtier, to accept the judgment of God in the fiery proof of the ordeal:—namely, to bear a red hot ball of iron three times from the altar to the rails of the sanctuary, without artifice and without injury. The reason of Palæologus was too strong to become the dupe of such an imposture; but he eluded the experiment with sense and pleasantry. "I am a soldier," said he, "and will boldly enter the lists with my accusers; but a layman like myself, and a sinner, "is not endowed with the gift of miracles. "Your piety, most holy prelate, may deserve "the interposition of Heaven, and from your "hands I will receive the fiery globe, the pledge "of my innocence." The archbishop was confounded, the emperor smiled, and the pardon

of the ingenious Michael was sealed by new rewards.

In the succeeding reign of Theodorus, Palæologus had alternately known disgrace and favour; but the dying breath of the prince recommended to him the protection of his infant son—a trust which he little deserved. Being elevated to the rank of regent, he employed the royal treasures in corrupting the guards; and by himself or his emissaries, he endeavoured to persuade every rank of subjects, that their prosperity would rise in proportion to the scope which was given to his own power. He courted popularity by diminishing the weight of taxes, and by prohibiting ordeals and judicial combats. The clergy he honoured with every mark of external respect; flattered the multitude with the idea of liberty; and represented to the nobles, the necessity of a mature and vigorous government.

In consequence of these manœuvres, he was first invested with the title and prerogatives of despot, which gave him the second rank in the empire; soon after he was associated to the purple, and in compliment to his age and merit, obtained the honours of precedence. His general Strategopulus now obtained the rank of Cæsar, and the obligation was repaid by restoring Constantinople to the authority of the Greeks.

Twenty days after the expulsion of the Latins, Michael made his triumphant entrance into the capital. He immediately set about reinstating the nobles, calming the fears of the inhabitants, encouraging the industry and confirming the privileges of strangers, and repeopling the half-

deserted city, by inviting settlers from the provinces. His attention was next diverted to the consolidation of his own power; he was crowned again, and alone, in the church of St. Sophia; the name and honours of John Lascaris, his ward and associate, were insensibly abolished; and though the conscience of the usurper might restrain him from murder, he caused the eyes of the unfortunate youth to be put out, and then confined him in a distant castle, where he spent many melancholy years.

Arsenius the patriarch, however, had the courage to arraign this treason and ingratitude. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against Michael, who in vain confessed his guilt, and deprecated the judgment. The unrelenting prelate only condescended to answer, that for such an atrocious crime, signal expiation must be made, and seemed to hint at an abdication of his power; but the emperor disdained to purchase absolution so dear, and they parted without coming to any agreement.

After the sentence of excommunication had long hung over Palæologus, and embarrassed his measures, the clergy themselves began to blame the inflexible spirit of Arsenius; and soon after he was deposed from his episcopal office, and banished to a small island, where he died. At the end of six years, the imperial penitent gained absolution, and was restored to the communion of the faithful; but a powerful faction, which lasted forty-eight years, was the consequence of this ecclesiastical warfare.

Michael wrested from the Franks several of the finest islands of the Archipelago, and the eastern side of the Morea was again possessed

by the Greeks; but in the prosecution of these conquests, the country beyond the Hellespont was left exposed to the Turks; and the minds of the Greeks were alienated from their sovereign, by his union with the Latin church, which the subtle Palæologus had consented to, in order to allay the resentment of Urban IV. who had proclaimed a crusade in favour of the suppliant Baldwin.

This stroke of policy seems to have missed its aim. Palæologus was regarded with abhorrence by his subjects, and even his own family and favourites either deserted him, or conspired against him. At once his violence was detested at Constantinople, and his irresolution arraigned at Rome; and while he was striving to reduce his people under the domination of the holy see, he himself was excommunicated by pope Urban the Fourth.

A. D. 1283. The vexation occasioned by these schisms and commotions, brought on a malady, of which he died at the age of fifty-five, and the *pious* Andronicus, his son and successor, denied his father the burial of a prince and a Christian.

Andronicus, afterwards surnamed the Elder, had been proclaimed and crowned emperor in the fifteenth year of his age; and held that title nine years as the colleague, and fifty as the successor, of his father. The first step taken by the new emperor, was to conciliate the clergy, by annulling the union between the Greek and Latin churches. As he was easily offended, and of a suspicious temper, he soon became jealous of his brother Constantine, and his ablest generals, whom he removed from the command

of his armies, and thus opened an easier passage to the Turks, who now first entered Europe.

The empire of Andronicus was also assaulted and endangered by a race of men, who had been nurtured in discord by his father Michael. After the massacres and revolutions in Sicily, known by the name of the *Sicilian vespers*, many thousands of the Genoese and Catalans, having heard that the Greek provinces of Asia were invaded by the Turks, determined to share the spoil. Frederick, king of Sicily, facilitated their departure, and in a warfare of twenty years, arms were their sole possession and property.

Roger de Flor was the most popular of their chiefs, a man who had supported every character, and run through every variety of fortune. Having obtained a powerful navy, he sailed from Messina for Constantinople, with 8000 adventurers, and was received with transport by Andronicus, who created him duke of Romania. He defeated the Turks in two bloody battles, and was hailed as the deliverer of Asia: but his demands were at least equal to his services; and his licentious followers became equally formidable to the Mahometans and the empire. At last he was assassinated in the apartment of the empress, and the greatest part of his soldiers shared the same fate, from the fury of the people. Fifteen hundred, however, fortified themselves in Gallipoli, and having twice defeated the united force of the empire, intercepted the trade of Constantinople and the Black Sea, till weakened by want and intestine feuds, they retired from the vicinity of the capital.

Nor was it only by external enemies that Andronicus was assailed. The people were dis-

contented and mutinous; and to avoid being plundered themselves, sometimes joined the plunderers. Indeed, the valour and learning for which this emperor is celebrated, seems to have contributed little, either to the prosperity or glory of his long and uninteresting reign. The abject slave of superstition, his mind was continually agitated by the fears of a future state; and while he fixed his attention on that, he seems to have forgotten that he was born to fill an important station in the present life.

Michael, the eldest son of Andronicus, was associated to the purple, but his mediocrity of talents neither excited the jealousy, nor raised the hopes of the people. This prince had two sons, named Andronicus and Manuel. The former, from an early appearance of wit and beauty, was endeared to his grandfather, who caused him to be educated with great care, as his heir and favourite, and the names of the father, son, and grandson, were frequently united, in the acclamations of the people. The mind of the youth being corrupted by indulgence, he beheld with impatience the double obstacle that opposed his rising ambition: the capital was disturbed by his tumultuous revels; and the lives of his brother and father were at length the victims of his vices. A beautiful lady of high rank, but licentious manners, had consigned her person to the arms of young Andronicus; but the prince suspecting her fidelity, placed guards at her door, and their arrows pierced a casual passenger in the street. That passenger was prince Manuel, who died of the wound; and their common father, Michael, expired of grief a few days after.

The profligate Andronicus but ill dissembled his joy at the principal bars to his ambition being thus removed; and the reigning emperor, alarmed at his conduct, transferred his regard to another grandson. The long-acknowledged heir was exposed to the indignity of a publick trial; but the court was soon filled with the armed retainers of the younger Andronicus, and the reconciliation to which his grandfather consented, only exposed his weakness, and strengthened the presumption of the former.

A short time after, the young prince escaping from the capital, erected his standard at Adrianople, and in a few days assembled fifty thousand horse and foot, commanded by John Cantacuzene, the great domestick. The motions of this formidable force, however, were slow and doubtful, and their progress was checked by intrigue and negociation. During seven years, the quarrel of the Andronici was suspended and renewed; and the ungrateful grandson in every new treaty rose in his pretensions. At last this civil war was terminated, by the surprise of Constantinople, and the final retreat of the old emperor to a cloister, in which he wore the monastick habit for two years, and then expired, in the seventy-second year of his age. A. D. 1328.

The elder Andronicus perhaps found it advisable to retire from the busy scene, having long lost the respect of his subjects, while the destructive progress of the Turks served still further to alienate the minds of the people. "How different," said the younger Andronicus, "is my situation from that of the son of Philip! "Alexander complained that his father left him

"nothing to conquer: alas! my grandsire will "leave me nothing to lose." Yet the indolence of the young emperor seems to have balanced his ambition. When the throne was within his reach, he made no bustle to ascend it, but devoted his time to his hawks, his hounds, and his huntsmen.

The previous behaviour of the young emperor did not promise that his reign would be either fortunate or glorious. He was defeated and wounded in a ruinous battle with the Turks, and his overthrow confirmed the establishment of their empire, while his own was rapidly hastening to decay. At length, in consequence of his early intemperance, and the unrestrained indulgence of his passions, he sunk into the grave in the forty-fifth of his age, leaving an only son, John Palæologus, who was only nine years of age at his father's death.

A. D. 1341.

The weakness of the infant emperor was protected by the genius of John Cantacuzene, who had long been the friend and counsellor of the late emperor, and who in his last moments pressed him to accept the imperial title. The dangerous proposal, however, was rejected by the virtue of this illustrious Greek; and he was then named regent during the minority of John.

There is every reason to believe he would have discharged the delegated trust with fidelity, had not his designs been thwarted by the ambition of Apocaucus, the great admiral, who owed every thing to the influence of Cantacuzene, but who, forgetting the obligation he was under to his benefactor, encouraged Anne, the widow of the late emperor, to assert the laws of

nature, in undertaking the tutelage of her son. To the same views he brought over John of Apri, the patriarch, a proud and feeble old man, who assumed the claims of a Roman pontiff, and pressed religion into the service of faction.

The legal guardian was assailed on all sides, his prerogatives disputed, his opinions slighted, and his friends persecuted. At length, while absent in the publick service, he was proscribed as an enemy to the church and state; his fortune was confiscated, and his aged mother, by a pitiful revenge, thrown into prison.

Cantacuzene was driven by injustice to perpetrate the very crime he was falsely accused of; yet such was his love of peace, that he meditated to throw himself at the feet of the young emperor, and patiently submit to his fate.

The remonstrances of his family and friends, however, diverted him from this dangerous resolution; and no other resource remained but to declare himself independent. At Demotica, his own private domain, he was invested with the purple; but still the name of John Palæologus was ordered to be proclaimed before his own. Necessity, not choice, evidently dictated this revolt; for Cantacuzene had neither provided an army, nor military stores; and immediately after he had assumed the imperial title, he retired with five hundred followers among the savage Servians, where he gradually sunk to a suppliant, a captive, and an hostage; and was at length dismissed to encounter new vicissitudes of hope and fear. A. D. 1341.

For six years the empire was distracted by contending factions; but the liberality of Canta-

cuzene having engaged the support of the Turks, and his rival Apocaucus being taken off, the road was gradually paved to the return of the revolted chief; who at length investing the walls of Constantinople, the empress Anne and her son consented to a treaty, by which it was stipulated, that the young emperor should marry Irene, the daughter of Cantacuzene, and admit him a partner in the empire, with the sole administration for the space of ten years, by which time John would have attained the age of twenty-five. These conditions being ratified, Irene was espoused, and crowned empress.

The reign of Cantacuzene, however, was far from being tranquil. He had the misfortune to offend his friends, by not gratifying their unreasonable expectations; and his enemies were irreconcileable. His son-in-law, as he advanced in years, began to be inspired with views of independence, and to evince at once the ambition and the sordid and sensual appetites of his father Andronicus. Being left at Thessalonica, and secluded from the eye of Cantacuzene, he concluded a secret treaty with the Servians, in opposition to the interests of his partner and administrator: an open rupture succeeded, and every attempt to reconcile the rivals proved ineffectual. The Turks espoused the cause of the regent, and now gained a lasting establishment in Europe; but though Cantacuzene prevailed by their assistance, he lost the confidence both of the people, and of Palæologus. Constantinople was still attached to the blood of her ancient princes: the citizens rose in arms; and the long and general shouts of "Life and victory to John Palæ-

ologus!" proclaimed the extinction of the power of the regent. He descended from the throne without any further attempts to regain his lost power; embraced the monastick habit and profession; and spent the remainder of his days in piety and studious pursuits. A. D. 1355.

Before his abdication, the Turks had invaded nearly the whole of the empire, and a Genoese colony at Pera, one of the suburbs of Constantinople, monopolized every branch of commerce, and fed or famished the capital, according to their interest or caprice. The most perfect union alone could have enabled the Greeks to resist enemies so powerful and so near; but discord on the contrary every where reigned, and especially in the imperial family.

For a long series of years, John Palæologus was the helpless and indifferent spectator of the publick ruin. His eldest son Andronicus had formed a criminal intercourse with Sauzes, the son of Amurath, sultan of the Turks; and both the young princes conspired against the lives of their respective parents. Their designs, however, were timely discovered by Amurath, who deprived his son of sight, and insisted on Palæologus inflicting a similar punishment on Andronicus. The abject emperor obeyed; and involved his infant grandson John in the same sentence: but the operation was so mildly performed, that one recovered the sight of an eye, and the other was only disfigured by squinting. The fidelity of Manuel the second son, was rewarded by associating him to the purple; but in two years, the Greeks, with characteristick levity, raised the late criminal and his innocent

son to the throne, and consigned the aged emperor and Manuel to a prison. A lapse of two years more effected another revolution: the captives made their escape; and finding numerous partizans, the claims of the contending parties were compromised, by assigning to the elder Palæologus and his son Manuel the possession of the capital; and by allotting whatever remained beyond the walls, to the younger Palæologus and his son John.

Soon after, the amorous old monarch deprived Manuel of a blooming princess of Trebizond, and sent him to display his valour in the wars of the sultan Bajazet; but the jealousy of this despot being excited by a plan of fortifying Constantinople, the new works were demolished at his peremptory command; and this mortification, added to the many which John Palæologus had received in a reign of thirty-six years, preyed on his heart, and sent him to the grave.

A. D. 1390.

On receiving intelligence of his father's death, Manuel escaped from the Turkish camp, and hastened to occupy the Byzantine throne. That station, however, was disputed by his nephew John, whose guilty father was no more; and Bajazet, after concluding a treaty with Manuel, and almost immediately after rescinding it, embraced the cause of John, and invested the imperial city.

By the assistance of some Franks, Manuel was enabled to repel the Mahometans for more than a year; but the enemy soon returning with augmented numbers, he found it impossible to resist the torrent, and therefore, leaving his competitor to occupy the throne, he determined to

implore in person the assistance of France. Scarcely, however, had John entered the capital, before the sultan claimed it as his rightful possession; and all the resistance he could have made, would have delayed the fate of the city but a very short time, had not the rapid progress of Tamerlane called off the Turk, to a contest with an army more worthy of his prowess.

When Manuel undertook his suppliant expedition, he expected the instant subversion of the church and state; and was agreeably surprised by the successive intelligence of the retreat, overthrow, and captivity of Bajazet. He immediately set sail for Constantinople, and being restored to the throne, banished his competitor John to the isle of Lesbos.

Soliman, the son of Bajazet, fearful lest the Greeks should favour the Moguls, earnestly solicited the alliance of Manuel, and made him very important cessions and restitutions. These conditions, so ignominious to the Turks, occasioned the enmity of Mousa, another son of the deceased sultan, and the Mahometans renewed their hostile attempts on the capital. Manuel, instead of fomenting the discords of the Moslems, now sided with Mahomet, the most formidable of the sons of Bajazet, entertained him in his palace, and assisted his views. The gratitude of Mahomet only expired with his life; and in his last moments he bequeathed his younger sons to the protection of the Greek emperor. But the divan rescinded the appointment, and determined that the royal youth should never be abandoned to the orthodoxy of a christian dog. A schism took place in the councils of the Byzantine court; and Mustapha, who had long

been detained as a captive hostage at Constantinople, was allowed to ascend the throne of Romania.

The negociation of the Greek emperor with Mustapha, aroused the resentment of his rival Amurath, and the victory of that prince over the sovereign of Romania, was followed by the siege of Constantinople. The prospect of plunder and of the crown of martyrdom, drew together two hundred thousand Turks, who invested the city; but a domestick revolt recalled the sultan to the protection of Boursa, and for thirty years suspended the fate of the Byzantine empire.

A. D. 1422.

The aged Manuel, oppressed with years and wearied with cares, submitted to the stroke of death, without beholding, though not without anticipating, the ruin of his empire and religion; and his son, John Palæologus, was permitted to ascend the vacant throne on the payment of a large annual tribute, and the cession of the greatest part of his remaining dominions.

A. D. 1428.

Whenever the Byzantine princes were encompassed with difficulties, or pressed by imminent danger, it had long been their practice to court the alliance, and implore the protection of the pope and the Latins; but no sooner did their calamities subside, than they uniformly returned to their genuine hatred and contempt for the idolaters of the West. John Palæologus, the Elder, alarmed at once by foreign invasion and domestick insurrection, in order to obtain relief, subscribed a treaty, and submitted to an oath of fidelity and obedience to the Roman pontiff. The humiliating terms, however, were never

put in execution; but when the Turkish torrent was only resisted by the walls of Constantinople, the desponding emperor embarked for Venice, with the hopes of rousing by his presence the cold compassion of the princes of the West.

Urban the Fifth at that time wore the tiara, and on receiving the submission of Palæologus to the supremacy of the holy see, endeavoured to rekindle the zeal of the Christians of the West in favour of his proselyte. But the season of crusades was past; and the emperor returned without accomplishing any thing. His son Manuel had likewise visited the courts of the West, to implore assistance against the overwhelming Turks. At Venice, Paris, and London, he was pitied, praised, and entertained; but was more befriended by events which he could not have foreseen, than by his christian brethren.

When John Palæologus the Second ascended the throne, the avarice and vices of the Roman pontiffs had scandalised the clergy themselves, and the council of Basil, supported by several of the powers of the West, declared that the representatives of the church had a paramount authority over the pope himself. The concurrence of the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople was eagerly solicited; but pope Eugenius, sensible of the importance of gaining over the Greeks to his party, made the most splendid proposals, which after some hesitation were accepted. The union of the Greek and Latin churches was effected by intrigue; but the subjects of Palæologus received him on his return from the council, with a general murmur of discontent. The very subscribing ecclesiasticks, instead of justifying their conduct, deplored

their weakness. "Alas! we have been seduced "by distress, by fraud, and by the hopes and "fears of a transitory life. The hand that has "signed the union should be cut off; and the "tongue that has pronounced the Latin creed "deserves to be torn from the root," was the answer they returned to the taunting question, "What had been the event of the Italian synod?"

But while Eugenius triumphed in the union of the Greeks, his party was contracted to the palace of Constantinople, and even there the zeal of Palæologus was already cooled, and his brother Constantine was ready to draw the sword in defence of the national religion; while sultan Amurath beheld with a jealous eye, the outward reconciliation that had taken place between the Latins and the Greeks.

The danger that threatened, not only the Byzantine empire, but christendom, from the Turks, made Eugenius anxious to render the promised assistance to Palæologus; but though he exerted all his influence to raise a general crusade, the most important accession he obtained, were the kingdoms of Hungary and Poland, united under the authority of Ladislaus, and animated by the valour and fame of John Huniades, the hero of his age. Yet notwithstanding the advantages gained by this consummate soldier, and the powerful diversion he made, the Greek emperor was compelled to enter into a humiliating treaty with the Turks, and submit to dishonourable conditions.

The chagrin Palæologus endured on this account, the schisms which distracted his subjects, the loss of his empress whom he tenderly loved,

and the insolence of Amurath, who rose in his pretensions with every concession that was made him, all conspired to undermine his constitution, and to sink him into an untimely grave, in the twenty-seventh year of his reign. A. D. 1448.

The senate, the soldiers, the clergy, and the people, were unanimous in supporting the pretensions of his brother Constantine; but as a proof of the humiliation of the Greek emperors, this was not judged sufficient, without the approbation of the sultan of the Turks, which was graciously acceded.

Amurath soon resigned his breath, and was succeeded by Mahomet the Second. The attention of this prince was incessantly fixed on Constantinople; and he frequently declared that no promises ought to bind the faithful against the interest and the duty of their religion. Being irritated by the imprudence of the Byzantine ambassadors, he availed himself of the opportunity which was given to indulge his designs; and resolved to erect a strong castle on the side of the Bosphorus, facing a fortification on the Asiatick shore, which had been raised by his grandfather.

Only five miles distant from the capital of the Greek empire, on a spot called Asomaton, a thousand builders were ordered to assemble early in the spring. The imperial ambassadors did not fail to represent that this double fortification would be a violation of existing treaties, and that it would command the streight, and intercept at discretion the very subsistence of Constantinople. "I form no enterprise," replied the sultan, "against the city; but the empire of

"Constantinople is measured by her walls. "Have ye right, have ye power, to control my "actions on my own ground? for that ground "is my own. As far as the shores of the Bos- "phorus, Asia is inhabited by the Turks, and "Europe is deserted by the Romans. Return "and inform your sovereign, that the present "Ottoman is far different from his predecessors; "that his resolutions surpass their wishes; and "that he performs more than they could resolve. "Return in safety, but the next who delivers a "similar message may expect to be flayed "alive."

After this menace, Constantine would have had recourse to arms, but his ministers advised him to suffer Mahomet to fix on himself the charge of aggression, and to depend on chance and time for the accomplishment of his wishes. Meanwhile the hostile fort was carried on with great expedition, and was constructed of great strength. Constantine had requested a Turkish guard to protect the fields of his subjects from being consumed by the artificers or their cattle; but this guard was in fact stationed to defend their brethren, if molested by the Christians. The two nations soon became embroiled by wanton annoyance on one side, and just resentment on the other: several fell in tumultuous conflicts; and Mahomet embraced with joy the pretext afforded him for sending a reinforcement to avenge the pretended injuries of his people. The gates of Constantinople were shut; but the emperor, yet desirous of warding off the catastrophe, released several Turkish aggressors, and accompanied their dismissal with a letter to Mahomet. "Since neither oaths, nor treaty,

"nor submission, can secure peace, pursue your "impious warfare. My trust is in God alone: if "it should please him to mollify your heart, I "shall rejoice in the happy change; if he delivers "the city into your hands, I submit without a mur- "mur to his holy will; but until the judge of the "earth shall pronounce between us, it is my duty "to live and die in the defence of my people."

The answer of the sultan was hostile and decisive: a tribute was imposed on the ships of every nation that passed within reach of his cannon *, and the port of Constantinople was completely blocked up.

While the sultan was sedulously employed in preparations for undertaking the siege of the imperial capital, Constantine importuned the princes of the West with fruitless solicitations. The Roman pontiff was hardened against the Greeks on account of their obstinacy and prevarication; and, if in their last exigency he yield-

* Cannon appears to have been in general use at this period. The sultan pressed a renegado named Urban, a founder of cannon, to produce him some pieces of ordnance. "Is it possible," asked the sultan, "to cast a can- "non capable of throwing a ball or stone, of sufficient "size, to batter the walls of Constantinople?" "I am not "ignorant," replied the renegado, "of their strength; but "were they more solid than those of Babylon, I could "oppose an engine of superior power: but the position "and management of that engine must be left to your "engineers." From a foundery at Adrianople, Urban produced a piece of ordnance, the bore of which measured twelve palms, and the stone ball weighed upwards of six hundred pounds. When it was ready to be tried, the people were admonished by a proclamation, against the effects of astonishment and fear. The explosion was felt in the circuit of twelve miles; the ball was driven nearly nine furlongs, and then buried itself above a fathom deep in the ground.

ed to the dictates of compassion, the support his influence procured them, was too tardy to be of any use.

The timid crowd began to be alarmed, and to fly from the devoted city. The rich secreted their wealth, instead of producing it for the defence of their country; yet Constantine remained firm at his post, and if his resources were inadequate to the contest, he evinced a mind equal to the perils with which he was surrounded.

A. D. 1453. Mahomet II. having completed his preparations, early in the spring, pitched his standard before the gate of St. Romanus, and invested Constantinople with nearly three hundred thousand men. The motley race, who still inhabited the capital, might amount of all ages and both sexes to about one hundred thousand; but on a careful enumeration and survey, scarcely five thousand were found able and willing to bear arms. These were reinforced by two thousand auxiliaries, under the command of John Justiniani, a noble Genoese, whose exertions were stimulated by the promised recompense of the isle of Lemnos. A strong chain was drawn across the mouth of the harbour; and a city of perhaps fifteen miles in circumference, was defended by about 7000 soldiers against the united Ottoman force.

In the commencement of the siege, the Greeks boldly sallied from their walls; but prudence soon taught them to desist from a mode of warfare, which reduced their own numbers, and made but little impression on their enemies. The Turkish artillery was superior to that of the Christians, and the latter were afraid to plant their heavy guns on the walls, lest the explosion

should overthrow them. The Mahometans gradually pushed their approaches to the ditch; but their attempts to fill the enormous chasm were nightly frustrated by the toil of the Greeks. A wooden turret, however, was successfully advanced; the tower of St. Romanus was thrown down; but next morning, by the activity of the emperor and Justiniani, the wooden machine of the sultan was reduced to ashes, and the tower of St. Romanus restored.

Meanwhile, a squadron of five ships, navigated by the best sailors of Italy and Greece, and bearing supplies of indispensable necessity, having eluded the vigilance, or overcome the force, of the whole Turkish fleet, securely anchored within the chain of the harbour. As long, therefore, as the sea was open to the Greeks, the reduction of the place appeared hopeless. To overcome this, the genius of Mahomet conceived and executed the bold design of transporting his lighter vessels about ten miles by land, from the Bosphorus to the higher part of the harbour, in the narrowest channel of which he constructed a mole, fifty cubits broad and one hundred long, and mounted it with his largest cannon. In an attempt to destroy this, the foremost galliots of the Greeks were taken or sunk, and several gallant Christian youths who had fallen into his hands on the occasion, were inhumanly massacred by the sultan.

After sustaining a siege of forty days, the breaches were increased, the garrisons diminished, the remnant of the force impaired by discord, and Constantinople trembled on the verge of ruin. The twenty-ninth of May was fixed for the fatal and final assault.

The dervises assured those who happened to fall in the holy enterprise, that they would enjoy immortal youth in the groves of paradise, and black-eyed virgins for ever; while the sultan promised the temporal incentive of double pay, the plunder of the city, and a splendid reward to him who should first mount the walls. A general ardour was diffused through the camp, and nothing was heard but shouts of "God is "God! there is but one God! and Mahomet is "his apostle."

Far different passions agitated the Christians. Despair and fear by turns filled their bosoms; yet the intrepid firmness of Constantine Palæologus, communicated to a select few that confidence, which in reality he had lost himself. Accompanied by his most faithful companions, he devoutly received the sacrament of the holy communion in the church of St. Sophia; begged the pardon of those he had injured, and then mounted his horse to watch the hostile movements.

The foremost ranks of the Mahometans consisted of an undisciplined rabble, inflamed only with the spirit of enthusiasm, among whom the Greeks made a prodigious slaughter. The more regular troops of the sultan succeeded; but the Christians still maintained their superiority; while the emperor was heard exhorting his companions and subjects to achieve the deliverance of their country, by a last effort. But being exhausted with fatigue, and covered with wounds, the Janissaries, headed by the sultan in person, with an iron mace in his hand, poured on with irresistible violence. At this moment John Justiniani having his gauntlet pierced, retired from his station. "Your wound," exclaimed Palæo-

logus, "is slight, the danger is pressing, your "presence is necessary, and whither will you re- "tire?" "By the same road," replied the Genoese, "which God has opened to the Turks." He escaped to Galata, sacrificing his honour to preserve a few hours of life; and was followed by the greatest part of the Latin auxiliaries. Hassan, the Janissary, now mounted the walls: a crowd of Moslems succeeded him; and the Greeks, driven from the rampart, sunk under multitudes of foes.

The emperor remained firm with a faithful band around him. He saw his dearest friends fall by his side, and at last remained surrounded only by enemies. In the bitterness of grief he exclaimed, "Has death then made such havock, "that not one Christian is left to take my life?" As he spoke, a Turk to whom his person was unknown, for he had prudently laid aside the purple, struck him in the face; a second blow succeeded from another hand; and he fell in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the tenth of his reign, a glorious example of honourable resolution, in expiring with his defenders rather than surviving them.

The golden eagles embroidered on the shoes of Constantine, soon discovered who he was: resistance was now at end; the city was abandoned to plunder; but Mahomet paid the homage of admiration to the courage of the emperor, and ordered his remains due funeral rites.

Thus fell the empire of the East; and the race of Othman established their government and religion in the palace of the great Constantine, and the church of St. Sophia.

By the capture of Constantinople, and the

death of the last of the Cæsars, the Roman empire, the most durable and the most glorious of any on earth, came to an end. The ferocious conqueror extended his sceptre over the adjacent countries, once sacred to freedom, science, and religion; and had he not been summoned by the angel of death, in the midst of his lofty projects, it is probable that he might have reduced Rome, the ancient mistress of the world, to the same humiliating condition as the city of Constantine.

THE

RISE AND FALL

OF

CARTHAGE.

Intended to illustrate the Portion of Roman History connected with the Punick Wars.

RISE AND FALL

OF

CARTHAGE.

CHAP. I.

From the Foundation of Carthage, to the Conclusion of the first Punick War.

AFRICA *, which is still but imperfectly known by the rest of the world, in ancient times was supposed to be in a great measure uninhabitable, on account of its sterile soil, and its scorching climate. Egypt, however, from the earliest ages, has furnished a splendid exception to the general character of this continent; and the great commercial republick of Carthage, whose rise and fall we are now about to narrate,

* The principal divisions of ancient Africa were Ægyptus, Cyrenaica, including Marmarica, now Barca; Regio Cyrtica, or the country between the two Syrtes, afterwards called Tripolis or Tripolitana, from its three cities, now Tripoli; Africa Propria, or the Territories of Carthage, now Tunis; Numidia, now Algiers; Mauritania, now Morocco and Fez; and Getulia. The interior parts of Africa were called Lybia, and the south Æthiopia; which name was by the ancients applied to all southern regions.

will ever be memorable in the history of human transactions. But as the principal events which relate to this state have already been recorded in the history of Rome, with which they are inseparably connected, from the commencement of the first Punick war, to the demolition of Carthage, and the final overthrow of its government, brevity will not only be excusable, but a duty, in order to avoid needless repetitions.

Carthage, the capital of Africa Propria, and which for numerous years disputed the sovereignty of the world with Rome itself, according to Velleius Paterculus, was founded 65; according to Justin and Trogus, 72; according to others, 100, or even 140 years, before Romulus began to build on the Palatine Mount.

Be this as it may, it is agreed on all hands, that the Phœnicians were its founders, under the conduct of Dido or Elisa, who flying from the avarice and cruelty of her brother Pygmalion, king of Tyre, landed on the coast of Africa with a body of faithful adherents, and fixed her habitation at the bottom of a gulf, on a peninsula, near the spot where Tunis now stands.

It is probable she might find a few inhabitants in the place, whom its local advantages had induced to settle there; but to her and her attendant colony, Carthage is unquestionably indebted for a regular foundation, and the establishment of its future greatness. Its progress, however, was gradual, and its early history, like that of most other states, is involved in obscurity. Successive additions, we know, raised it to a rank with the most celebrated cities on earth; while its territories were extended, and its fleets covered every coast.

At the period of its greatest splendour, Carthage was surrounded by a triple wall, flanked at intervals of 480 feet, by towers. Between the walls, under arcades, were stables sufficiently large for the reception of three hundred elephants, and four thousand horses, together with all things necessary for their maintenance. Twenty thousand foot soldiers were also provided with lodgings in the same place. There were two different harbours established; the one for commerce, the other for vessels of war, of which as many as two hundred and twenty might find separate accommodation at once. Beautiful parapets, and arsenals for military stores, were placed round these ports: so that the harbours and island assumed the appearance, on each side, of two magnificent galleries. The city of Carthage itself, occupying the space of twenty-three miles in circumference, was built on four eminences, on the highest of which stood the citadel, not only rendered strong from surrounding out-works, but also from the advantages of a peculiarly favourable situation. We may easily imagine how numerous and magnificent were the temples and publick buildings, in a town containing seven hundred thousand inhabitants, endowed with the sovereignty of the sea for six centuries, and consequently enjoying the commerce of the known world. Yet of all this grandeur not a wreck remains; and the once omnipotent city of Carthage now lies buried under the ruins of its own walls; which, like the calm ocean, obscure for ever the riches hid in its profound abyss. The casual appearance of drains and reservoirs are the only objects

which can now lead to the discovery of its original position, and identify its site.

At one period, the Carthaginians were possessed of the greater part of Spain, Sicily, and the islands of the Mediterranean, in addition to numerous establishments which they had formed, for the support and extension of their trade, with other countries. Their own immediate territory, however, consisted in what now forms the kingdom of Tunis; which was once a city in the Carthaginian domain, at that distant period known by an almost similar name *. Utica was reckoned second in point of size and population, and next to this ranked Hippo. It is not necessary to mention others which bordered on the coast, or appeared in the more inland parts of the country in great numbers. They were chiefly situated on lakes, which frequently occur in this quarter of Africa. For the support of these establishments, every spot of the burning sands which surrounded them that would admit of cultivation, became the objects of their most assiduous care. But with all their industry and perseverance, they could only fertilise a narrow strip along the edges of lakes, and the inconsiderable rivers of this district. In exception to this general rule, however, the soil on which Carthage itself stood, produced the most abundant harvests of every kind of grain.

Monarchy is supposed to have been the original government of Carthage, neither is it known at what period it assumed the form of a republick. It is, however, generally allowed, that the republick consisted of the people, a very numerous senate, and two suffetes or presiding magis-

* Tunes.

trates. These suffetes corresponded in rank and power with the consuls at Rome, and kings at Lacedæmon; but were not, like the latter, chosen for life. They were elected from amongst the richest of the citizens, that they might be the better able to support their dignity with splendour. The election of a senator depended upon the voice of the people, and the senators themselves; but the manner of their being chosen is unknown. When the votes of the senate were unanimous, they possessed the power of giving laws, from which there was no appeal. But when the suffrages were divided, or when the suffetes stood alone, the decision was referred to the people, who then gave the final decree. "Hence," says Polybius, "arose the misfortunes of Carthage; "since in the last Punick wars, the judgment of "the people, misled by their orators, prevailed "over the wiser dictates of the senate." There were, likewise, two other tribunals, but their purport or authority are merely conjectural. These were the centumviri, or council of a hundred, chosen from amongst the senators; and the quinqueviri, or counsel of five, elected from the members of the centumvirate. It appears consistent with probability, that the centumvirate discussed and suggested matters to the senate; and that the quinquevirate presided over all, even the suffetes themselves; acting in nearly the same capacity as the former state inquisitors at Venice. But whatever were the powers of these various orders, their regulations appear generally to have been guided by wisdom and discretion; since the history of the republick was for a long period unsullied either by sedition, the insubor-

dination of the people, or oppression on the part of their leaders.

The barbarous custom of sacrificing guileless infants to a god, supposed to be Saturn, was a long time prevalent in Carthage. These victims were selected from the first families, their mothers being constrained to assist in the execution of their offspring; and in proportion as they suppressed the acute feelings of maternal affection, they obtained the esteem and applause of the surrounding populace. The number of two hundred were immolated to this sanguinary deity at once, in times of any particular distress. They revered nearly all the Egyptian, Greek, Roman, and Phœnician gods, with the most ardent veneration. Neither were they exempt from other absurd superstitions, derived from these nations, such as holding up female prostitution as an act of piety, and practising it even in their temples; the profits being appropriated as the woman's portion. Yet we cannot imagine that a practice so disgusting to decency and morality, could have been general. But even this is not more peculiar than other customs well known to have been in force at Carthage; some wholly harmless, while others again were attended with the most baneful consequences. None but the condemned were allowed to be the messenger of any publick or private calamity, it being supposed that the herald of any bad news would meet with a speedy dissolution. On this supposition, criminals were reserved expressly for that purpose. When the city was threatened with any great misfortune, the walls were immediately hung with black: during a campaign, soldiers were denied the use of wine; and magistrates, during their office, were subject to the same restriction. The officers and soldiers wore a ring for each

campaign in which they had served. On the return of a general from an unsuccessful expedition, though he were free from the imputation of any blame or neglect, he was put to death; yet, notwithstanding this inhuman severity, their army was never in want of a commander. In order to excite hospitality, they interchanged mutually a broken mark, which they produced on meeting; delivering it down to their posterity by inheritance. The Carthaginians possessed the most implicit faith in oracular divinations. They were accused by the Romans of obduracy, and even ferocity; and according to them their sole object was the amassing of riches; nor was there any dishonourable action they would not perpetrate for the attainment of wealth. But it ought to be considered, that this character was given by their most inveterate enemies, whose prejudices against a rival nation were so great, that Cicero, when speaking of a Punick philosopher, said, with a sarcastick sneer, "he was sensible enough for a Carthaginian." They themselves were not prone to raillery; but their nobles were insupportably arrogant. But whatever may have been the general character of this people, it is certain there might be found amongst them men of the most distinguished generosity as well as heroick bravery.

From the few existing remains of the Punick language, it appears to have been of Phœnician origin. By the introduction of words from various other tongues, with which the commerce of the Carthaginians rendered them familiar, their language was afterwards considerably enriched. In Malta are still retained many of its idioms, and the Celtick is said to bear a near affinity to it. Their written characters were partly composed

of the Phœnician, and partly the Hebrew. Much encouragement, certainly, was not given by the Carthaginians to the promotion of the sciences; yet it would be unjust to affirm, that they treated them with absolute neglect. But not only the archives of this people, but all their literary and historical works, were destroyed by the Romans;—an act which greatly derogates from the rank of these governors of the universe; as it strongly evinces a mean jealousy lest the fame of this nation should rival their own.

Unlike the Romans, who formed soldiers from the surrounding nations, as intrepid as themselves; the Carthaginians, secluded from the neighbouring states, were obliged to hire distant mercenaries, who could not be supposed to possess that innate patriotism and zeal which natives feel in the defence of their country. But from all these obstacles, the commanders, who were universally Carthaginians, were entitled to additional applause, for inspiring their army with that energy which alone can give probability of success, by their own strenuous exertions. Yet, after all, from the too great mixture of nations, they could never equal the discipline, nor attain the tacticks, of the Romans. Their mariners, inured to hardships by long voyages, were alike brave and experienced; yet the inconvenience which weakened their armies, had also the same effect on their navy: the number of foreign auxiliaries was far greater than that of the Carthaginian sailors, on which account solely their most able admirals often met with signal defeats. Their knowledge of naval tacticks may be conceived from their long voyages of discovery, as well as of trade. Under Himilco, they explored the western coast of Europe: under Hanno they

made the circuit of Africa, and discovered the isles of Britain. There were many others who made excursions of greater or less extent in the establishment of that commerce which was the source of such opulence and power to Carthage, whose names are now lost in the oblivious stream of time.

The Carthaginians appear to have exported, from the produce of their own country, wheat, fruits of every kind, wax, honey, oil, and skins of beasts. The chief manufacture consisted in the materials necessary for the equipment of vessels: they are supposed to have been the inventors of galleys, with four rows of oars, and also of large cables. From Egypt they obtained fine hemp, paper, and wheat; from the coasts of the Red Sea, spices, aromaticks, gold, pearls, and precious stones; and from Tyre and Phœnicia, they procured purple and scarlet, rich stuffs, and tapestry. Returning from the western coasts, to which they carried their different commodities for sale, they brought back to the east, iron, tin, lead, and brass. They seem to have reaped the greatest emolument from their traffick with the Persians, Garamantes, and Ethiopians, which was conducted by means of caravans; and this kind of commerce was esteemed highly honourable, even in the leading members of the state. They had a peculiar method of carrying on their trade with the Lybians, the manner of which was a convincing proof of their mutual integrity. On the Carthaginians' reaching their shores, they unloaded their merchandizes, and placed them on an eminence, at the same time raising a thick smoke in order to apprise the Lybians of their arrival, who immediately repaired to the spot where the

goods were deposited; and having placed a certain quantity of gold near it, again retreated to a great distance. And if, on the return of the Carthaginians, they considered the sum adequate to the value of their commodities, they accepted it, and immediately set sail. On the other hand, if they did not conceive the money to be sufficient, they again retired to their vessels without taking any thing with them; and when the Lybians found that the bargain was not accepted, they increased the sum, till such time as it was thought proportionate to the value of the merchandize. Nor did either of these people attempt to take improper advantages over the other, although they had such repeated opportunities. This conduct justly claims our esteem, notwithstanding it was founded on the sordid basis of interest.

Dido, whom we have already mentioned as the undoubted founder of Carthage, appears, when she landed on the African coast, not only to have been young and beautiful, but equally subtle and courageous: neither is she less celebrated for her wisdom. On her arrival, she is reported to have demanded only as much ground as an ox's hide would encompass. This request was complied with; but judge of their astonishment, when they saw her cut the skin into narrow strips, and by that means encircle a large extent of territory; on which she built the citadel called Byrsa. The Carthaginians, however, annually paid a tribute to the Africans for the territory they thus possessed.

The new city soon became populous and flourishing, by the accession of the neighbouring Africans, who were first attracted by a view of

traffick. Nor was the stratagem by which they expanded their domain less singular than the means by which they obtained their first footing. On the Cyreneans complaining of the advantages they had taken in respect to territory, it was agreed between Cyrene and Carthage, that two commissaries from each should set off at an appointed hour, and that the spot on which they met, should be the boundary between the two nations. Two brothers, named Philæni, were deputed by Carthage, who making use of their most strenuous exertions, met the deputies of Cyrene much nearer their city than they expected. They, therefore, complained of being surprised, and accused the Carthaginians of having set off before the time appointed; demanding, on this account, that the agreement should be cancelled. "Suggest then," said the Philæni, "any other mode of decision, and we will "submit to your proposals." To which the Cyreneans answered, "Either immediately retire, "and yield the advatages you have gained, or "suffer yourselves to be buried alive, and your "tomb shall serve as a boundary." Their proposals were accepted by these heroick brothers, who underwent the most dreadful death imaginable, in order to secure the extension of territory they had gained for their country;—an action by no means unworthy of comparison with that of Curtius, who, for the sake of Rome, precipitated himself into the gulf.

Envious of the flourishing state of this colony, Jarbas, a neighbouring prince, vainly conceived a design to annex it to his dominions without any effusion of blood. To effectuate this, he demanded that an embassy of ten of the most

noble Carthaginians should be sent him; and upon their arrival, proposed to them a marriage with Dido, threatening war in case of a refusal. The ambassadors, fearful of delivering this message, informed the queen that Jarbas requested some person might be sent him who was capable of civilizing his savages; adding, that it was impossible to find any of her subjects who would submit to the inconveniences of parting from his relatives, merely to sacrifice his life in such detestable society. This occasioned a severe reprimand from the queen; who told them they might be ashamed of refusing to devote their lives to any situation, however obnoxious, for the benefit of their country. Upon this they revealed the real nature of their embassy from Jarbas; and said that according to her own decision, she ought to sacrifice herself for the good of her country. But the unhappy queen, rather than submit to be the wife of such a savage, caused a funeral pile to be erected, and with a dagger put a period to her existence.

In the early history of Carthage there is a chasm of three hundred years, owing to the destruction of the Punick archives by the Romans. It however appears, that from their very outset the inhabitants applied themselves to naval tactics, and were the objects of terror, during the reign of Cyrus and Cambyses. According to Siculus and Justin, their principal revenue was derived from the mines in Spain, in which country they appear to have established themselves very early. From the riches drawn out of these mines, they were enabled to equip the most formidable armaments. It is intimated by Justin, that the first Carthaginian settlement

in Spain, happened when the city of Gades, now called Cadiz, was in its infancy. The Spaniards, finding this new colony begin to flourish, attacked it with a numerous army, and obliged the colonists to implore the assistance of the mother country, which being granted, the Spaniards were not only repulsed, but compelled to yield the whole province in which their new city stood. Encouraged by this success, they attempted the conquest of the whole country; but in this their hopes deceived them, as it appears, from the accounts of Livy and Polibius, that the greatest part of Spain remained unsubdued till the times of Hamilcar, Asdrubal, and Hannibal.

Having made some successful maritime expeditions, which rendered them formidable even to the Phocæans, a nation equally skilled in naval affairs with themselves, and having obtained considerable advantages in Sicily, which from their internal commotions they were prevented making use of, the Carthaginians turned their arms against Sardinia. But this enterprise proved abortive; and losing half their forces on the spot, they, incensed at the defeat, banished the remaining portion of their army, together with their commander Machæus, who had previously conquered part of Sicily, and considerably extended their dominions in Africa. Feeling hurt at the ignominy he so unjustly experienced, he invested the city with the companions of his exile. Owing to those divisions which involve in fierce contention the nearest relations, the attention due to Machæus, was neglected, on his soliciting that himself and fellow-soldiers might be restored to their former stations. The

besieged, however, finding themselves hard pressed, sent proposals of peace to Machæus, through the medium of his own son Cartalo, who was in the opposite party. Cartalo having been commissioned by his country to convey the tenth of the spoils gathered in Sicily to the Tyrian Hercules, as an acknowledgment of their ancestry, on his return from this embassy, passed the camp of his father, who begged a conference with him; but he answered, that before he could obey this request, he must fulfil his duty to the gods. Being dispatched, immediately after, to Machæus in quality of mediator, and still wearing the same priestly robes in which he had performed his late embassy, his father thus addressed him: "How durst thou, wretch, appear before me and thy unfortunate fellow-citizens, clothed with such magnificence;—wherefore insult us with these tokens of luxury and happiness? Was there no other place in which to display pride and insolence than this spot which witnesses the disgrace of thy father? Are not these superb garments themselves the fruit of my conquests? Since thou hast considered me not as thy father, but an exile, I, in return, will not behold you with the eye of a parent, but that of a General." On these words he ordered a cross to be erected, and his son to be fastened to it. The town afterwards surrendering, Machæus condemned those senators to death who had taken an active part towards his banishment; but at length he was himself killed, in attempting to assume the sovereign power.

The Carthaginians gradually extended their power over all the islands in the Mediterranean, Sicily excepted; and for the entire conquest of

this last, they made astonishing preparations. Their army consisted of 300,000 men; their fleet was composed of more than 2000 men-of-war, and 3000 transports; and with these immense forces they made no doubt of conquering the whole island in a single campaign. But in this they found themselves deceived; Hamilcar, their leader, having landed his army, invested Himera, a city of considerable importance. He carried on his attacks with inconceivable ardour; but was at length surprised while in his trenches, by Gelon and Theron, the tyrants of Syracuse and Agrigentum, from whom he received the most complete overthrow. From his very numerous army not a single person escaped, all being either killed or taken prisoners. Nor were the Carthaginians much more fortunate in their fleet; for of the enormous number equipped for this expedition, only eight vessels were saved from the enemy, which at that time happened to be out at sea. But even these did not return to Carthage, being overtaken by a storm in which they all perished; and only a few men escaping in a boat, at last reached their native shore with the mournful tidings of the total destruction of the armament. No description is able to pourtray the distress and consternation of the Carthaginians, in its true colours. They immediately dispatched ambassadors suing for peace on any terms; which was granted on condition, that they should pay 2000 talents to defray the expenses of the war, and erect two temples, where the articles of the treaty should be deposited and held sacred. Hard as these conditions were, the Carthaginians, as a testimony of their grati- B. C. 480.

tude for Gelon's moderation, voluntarily presented his wife with a crown of one hundred talents value.

There is here a chasm of seventy years in the history of the Carthaginians. Some time, during this period, however, they had enlarged their dominions in Africa, and had shaken off the tribute which they paid for the possession of their domestick territory.

B. C. 412. Being solicited by the Egestines to protect them from the assaults of the Selinuntines, two small states in Sicily, they thought this a favourable opportunity again to attempt the reduction of that island. Great preparations were, therefore, made to accomplish this arduous purpose, and an immense army and navy were instantly raised. The command was given to Hannibal, who, having landed on the Sicilian shores, directed his march towards Selinus, marking his path with general devastation. Having taken the city by storm, he treated the inhabitants with the most barbarous cruelty; sixteen thousand persons fell in that dreadful scene of massacre and confusion; the temples were pillaged, and the city razed to the ground. After this he proceeded to Himera, which, after an ineffectual but valiant resistance, yielded to the same fate as Selinus. Elated with this success, Hannibal, dismissing his Sicilian and Italian allies, returned to Africa.

To such a degree, indeed, were the Carthaginians animated by their late acquirements, that they anticipated the certain subjection of the whole island. But as age and infirmity had almost incapacitated Hannibal for the fatigues of war, they divided the command between him

and Imilcar, the son of Hanno, one of his own family. These advanced to Agrigentum, which, after a severe contest, yielded to the Carthaginians, who did not fail to practise their usual barbarity. After having razed the city of Agrigentum, they made an incursion into the territories of Gela and Camarina; both which they ravaged in the most dreadful manner, carrying off immense quantities of plunder. The inhabitants now finding their enemy of such superior force, abandoned their country, as the only expedient for the preservation of their lives. The Carthaginian army, however, being much debilitated, partly by the casualties of war, and partly by the virulence of the plague, a herald was dispatched to Syracuse, to offer terms of peace; by the stipulations of which, the people of Gela and Camarina were reinstated in their respective cities, upon their paying an annual tribute to the victors.

Dionysius, who had been appointed generalissimo of the Sicilian armies, and who had concluded the treaty with no other view than that of gaining time to put himself in a condition to attack the common enemy with greater force, soon broke the peace, by destroying the persons and possessions of the Carthaginians who had resided in Syracuse, on the faith of the treaties. The ships which were at that time in the harbour were immediately plundered of their valuable cargoes;—an example which was followed throughout the whole island;—and Dionysius in the mean time dispatched a herald, bearing a letter to the senate and people of Carthage, informing them, that if they did not immediately withdraw

their garrisons from all the Greek cities in Sicily, they should be exterminated.

Not waiting, however, for an answer to this message, he advanced with his army to mount Eryx, near which stood the city of Motya, an extensive colony of the Carthaginians. Soon after, he proceeded in person with the major part of his forces to reduce the cities in alliance with the Carthaginians, leaving his brother Leptines to carry on the attacks of Motya. Dionysius destroyed their territories with fire and sword, and most of the towns opened their gates at his approach; but the cities of Egesta and Entella baffled all his efforts, and being at length obliged to give up the contest, he returned to Motya, and carried on the siege of that place with the utmost ardour.

The Carthaginians, in the mean time, though alarmed at the message from Dionysius, being likewise reduced to great distress by the plague, which was raging with destructive violence in their city, yet they did not sink into despondence; but aroused by the dangers that menaced them, sent officers to Europe, in order to procure mercenary troops with the utmost diligence. Ten galleys were also sent from Carthage to destroy all the ships in the harbour of Syracuse; which orders were completely executed, without the loss of a man.

After a long and valiant defence, the Motyans at last yielded to the Greeks, who, for some time, carried on a horrible massacre; but, on the conquered flying to the temples, the victors contented themselves with plundering the town.

Dionysius, soon after, made another attempt

upon Egesta, and was again repulsed. Alarmed at his progress, the Carthaginians dispatched a powerful army under Himilco, who retook Motya, before Dionysius could send forces to its succour. He next took Messana, after which most of the Siculi revolted from Dionysius, through fear. Notwithstanding this defection, Dionysius, with forces to the amount of 30,000 foot and 3000 horse, advanced against the Carthaginian army, while Leptines attacked their fleet. But, notwithstanding the positive orders he had received not to break the line of battle, the latter thought proper to run counter to this injunction, the consequence of which was, his total defeat. Dionysius, dispirited by this loss, withdrew his army to Syracuse, fearful lest the Carthaginian fleet might take possession of this city, while he was contending with the land forces. Himilco immediately invested the capital, and but for a malignant pestilence, would certainly have become master of it; but the havock of this dreadful malady, combined with an unexpected attack from Dionysius, terminated his career of victory; being obliged to pay 300 talents that he might retire with his shattered forces to Africa, where, unable to survive his misfortunes, he soon after put a period to his existence.

Undaunted, however, amidst all these calamities, the Carthaginians repeated their attacks on the Island of Sicily. Under the conduct of Mago, they landed an army of 80,000 men. This expedition, however, was attended with no better success than the preceding; being reduced to such straits for want of provisions, that they were obliged once more to sue for peace.

The Sicilian war continued with little interruption for nearly twenty-five years, attended with various success; at the expiration of which period, the Carthaginians, availing themselves of the civil dissentions existing in Syracuse, exerted all their powers, assisted by Icetas, tyrant of Leontine, to subjugate the whole Island.

The Syracusans, reduced to the greatest distress, called in the aid of the Corinthians, who immediately sending a small body of troops under the command of Timoleon, an experienced general, he effected a landing, and marched against Icetas, whom he surprised at the head of 5000 men, while at supper, putting 300 to the sword, and taking 600 prisoners. He then took post in Syracuse, where he defended himself with such resolution, that the united forces of Icetas and the Carthaginians in vain attempted to dislodge him.

Here he continued for some time, expecting reinforcements from Corinth, till the arrival of which he did not think it expedient to extend his conquests. These succours, however, were a long time detained by tempestuous weather; which gave the Carthaginians an opportunity of posting a strong squadron to intercept them on their passage. But the commander left his station, thinking it impossible for the enemy to effect their passage at such a stormy season, and ordered his seamen to crown themselves with garlands, and adorn their vessels with trophies of victory; at the same time declaring, that he had destroyed the succours which Timoleon expected. By this stratagem, he thought to intimidate Timoleon into a capitulation; but it had a very opposite issue: for the supplies were speedily

wafted by a gentle breeze into Sicily, without meeting with any opposition. The Carthaginian general was no sooner apprised of the arrival of this reinforcement, than, struck with terror, and dreading a revolt of his mercenaries, he immediately set sail for Africa, in spite of the remonstrances of Icetas. No sooner, however, had he reached his native country, than, overcome with shame and remorse, for his unprecedented impolicy and cowardice, he laid violent hands on himself; and his body was afterwards hung up on a gallows, in order to deter succeeding generals from following his inglorious example.

After the flight of his most powerful opponent, Timoleon carried all before him. He obliged Icetas to renounce his alliance with the state of Carthage, and even deposed him, carrying on his military preparations with the greatest alacrity. On the other hand, the Carthaginians made another attempt on the independence of Sicily, with an immense armament; but the fate of this enterprise was similar to that of the former, the forces being totally overthrown by Timoleon, with great effusion of blood. After having gained this signal victory, Timoleon returned to Syracuse, where he was received with the greatest demonstrations of joy and applause; while, from the successive misfortunes which had attended their endeavours, the Carthaginians were induced to conclude a peace, on terms honourable to the Sicilian confederates.

Reiterated ill success, however, could not damp the spirit, nor lessen the zeal, of the Carthaginians to accomplish the conquest of Sicily.

After a while, we find them again embroiled in this island, on the subsequent pretext. Sosistratus, who had usurped the supreme authority, returning from an unsuccessful expedition against Agathocles, was compelled to abdicate the sovereignty of Syracuse, and expelled, together with six hundred of the principal citizens, who were suspected of having plotted the overthrow of the prevailing plan of government. These, indignant at the treatment they had received, applied to the Carthaginians for succour; who, on this ground, advanced to Syracuse; and the citizens being speedly reinstated in their rights, peace was again concluded with Carthage. For some time, necessity obliged Agathocles to regard the treaty he had made; but at length finding himself firmly established in his authority, he broke through the peace by declaring war on the neighbouring states, and by force of arms piercing into the very centre of the island. He carried on these expeditions with such success, that in two years he brought into subjection all the Greek part of Sicily. Having thus far accomplished his intentions, he committed great devastations on the Carthaginian territories, their general, Hamilcar, not offering him the least annoyance. This treachery in one to whom they looked up for protection, excited the resentment of the inhabitants of those districts against Hamilcar, whom they accused before the senate. He soon after, however, died in Sicily, and Hamilcar the son of Gisco, succeeded him in command.

The Carthaginians, in support of their declining interest, having landed a powerful army in Sicily, Agathocles was defeated with the loss

of 7000 men, and obliged to shut himself up in Syracuse, which the enemy immediately invested, and most of the Greek states in the island submitted to them.

Agathocles seeing himself thus deprived of all his dominions, and his capital itself in danger of falling into the hands of the foe, formed a design, which, were it not attested by writers of indisputable authority, would appear incredible. This manœuvre, was nothing less than to transfer the war into Africa, and lay siege to Carthage itself. Appointing his brother Antandrus governor of the city of Syracuse, he set out, carrying with him the scanty sum of fifty talents to support an army of 14,000 men. For some time he was retarded by the superiority of the Carthaginian fleet, which blocked up the mouth of the harbour; but at last a fair opportunity offering, by the activity of his rowers, he eluded the pursuit of the Carthaginians, who notwithstanding their utmost exertions, could not oppose his landing.

No sooner had Agathocles landed his forces, than he burnt his fleet, that his soldiers might fight with more resolution and intrepidity, when they found there was no possible means of escape; and after meeting with a very feeble resistance, he arrived at Tunis, which he took and plundered.

The Carthaginians were thrown into the greatest consternation, but recovering from the effects of such an unexpected adventure, in a few days collected an army of 40,000 foot, and 1000 horse, with 2000 armed chariots*, intrust-

*. Chariots among the ancients were chiefly used in war and were generally drawn by two horses. They were

ing the command jointly to Hanno and Bomilcar, between whom there existed an inveterate animosity, which proved the ruin of their armament, and the loss of their camp, though the hostile forces were very much inferior in number. After this defeat, the Carthaginians superstitiously imagined that they had incurred the displeasure of their tutelary deities, by neglecting to sacrifice the children of noble families, as had been usual; for whom they had substituted the offspring of the indigent: and to expiate this singular species of impiety, they immediately devoted the blood of two hundred children of the first rank to their sanguinary gods, besides three hundred other persons, who voluntarily offered themselves up to death; vainly imagining by these means to appease the wrath of Heaven, and retrieve the affairs of their country.

After these expiations, they dispatched a messenger to recal Hamilcar from Sicily. The utmost endeavours, however, were used to prevent the news of Agathocles' successes reaching the ears of the besieged; on the contrary, it was given out, that his army and fleet had been totally destroyed. While matters remained in this state, a galley which Agathocles had caused to be built since his landing, entered the harbour of Syracuse, proclaiming his victories. Hamilcar having observed that the garrison flocked

contrived both for service and for ornament; being richly adorned, and sometimes embossed with gold or other precious metals. They generally held two men, the warrior and the charioteer; and were armed sometimes with hooks or scythes, which cut down whole ranks of soldiers; at others, with darts and other missive weapons.

down to the vessel, and expecting to find the walls unguarded, thought this a favourable opportunity to begin the intended assault. His troops had gained considerable advantages, when they were discovered by the patrole. Upon this a warm contest ensued; and the Carthaginians were repulsed with great loss. Hamilcar finding it in vain to continue the siege, after the Syracusans were inspired with such courage and animation by the welcome news they had received, withdrew his forces, sending a detachment of 5000 men to assist their countrymen in Africa. He himself remained, in hopes of obliging Agathocles to return to the defence of his own state. After receiving the submission of several allies of his enemy, the Carthaginian returned to Syracuse, in order to surprise it by an attack in the night time; but meeting with an unexpected defeat as he advanced through some narrow passes, where his numerous forces had not scope for exertion, he had the misfortune to be taken prisoner, and was soon after put to death.

The Agrigentines, perceiving to what a deplorable state the Carthaginians and Syracusans had mutually reduced each other, commenced a war with both parties, and shortly wrested from them many valuable places.

Agathocles, in the mean time, carried on his conquests with inconceivable rapidity; and after having overthrown the king of Lybia, who had declared against him, he prepared for the siege of Carthage itself. But notwithstanding the repeated losses which the Carthaginians had sustained, they still mustered a powerful army to oppose his progress. While matters were in this situation, advice was received of the

destruction of the Carthaginian forces before Syracuse, which made such an impression on their countrymen, that had not a sudden rebellion arisen in the camp of Agathocles, they would have probably lost their city before they could have recovered from the terror and consternation which such an unexpected event inspired.

In the year following, an engagement took place, in which neither party gained any advantage. But Agathocles finding himself unable any longer to carry on the war alone, engaged the assistance of Ophellas, one of the captains of Alexander the Great, who, with an immense army, marched to the aid of his new ally. But these auxiliaries were scarcely arrived, when this treacherous Sicilian cut off their commander, and by fair promises persuaded the troops to serve under himself.

At the head of such a numerous army, he now assumed the title of king of Africa, carrying on his conquests with great success. But, in the midst of his victorious career, the Sicilians formed an association in favour of liberty, to break which required his immediate presence. Therefore returning, he left the command in the hands of his son Archagathus, who materially extended the conquests in Africa, by dispatching Eumachus with a large detachment to invade some of the neighbouring provinces. This general, elated with the constant good fortune which had attended his undertakings, determined to penetrate into the more distant parts of Africa. Here, too, he at first was successful; but hearing that a formidable body of the natives were advancing to give him battle, he retreated precipitately

to the sea-coast, after having lost numbers of his men by the climate and fatigue.

The Carthaginians, informed of this reverse of Eumachus, redoubled their activity and resolution. Their exertions were now attended with a share of good fortune proportionate to the bad success which had frustrated all their previous attempts to rescue their country from the hands of foreign invaders. Having cut off two out of the three divisions into which Archagathus had split his army, they hemmed in the other, with the commander at their head, in such a manner as completely to intercept all supplies of provisions. Having found means, however, to apprise Agathocles of their dilemma, he hastened to their rescue with considerable forces, and attacking the Carthaginian camp with the most resolute bravery, made a considerable impression on it; but being deserted by his mercenaries, he was finally obliged to withdraw with the greatest precipitation, and lost many of his troops in the flight.

As an acknowledgment to the gods for this advantage, the Carthaginians determined to sacrifice all the prisoners of distinction. During the performance of these detestable rites, a violent gust of wind suddenly arose, which wafting the flames to the sacred tabernacle near the altar, spread to the adjoining tents of the general, and other principal officers. This occasioned a dreadful alarm through the whole army, which was heightened by the rapid progress the fire was making. In a short time, the camp was entirely laid in ashes, and many of the soldiers, endeavouring to carry off their arms and the rich baggage of their officers, perished in the flames.

Some of those who had escaped the fury of the conflagration, however, did not meet with a happier fate; for the Africans who had forsaken Agathocles, coming over in a body to the aid of the Carthaginians, were mistaken by the fugitives for the whole Syracusan army advancing in order of battle to attack them. Under this fatal deception, a horrid scene of confusion ensued. Some took to their heels; others fell down in heaps one upon another; while others engaged their comrades, mistaking them for the enemy. Five thousand men lost their lives in this tumultuous conflict; the rest sought refuge within the walls of Carthage: nor could a return of day-light, for some time, dissipate their horrifick apprehensions. Neither did these dreadful ravages cease here, for the African deserters, unable to comprehend the cause of the confusion in which they had discovered the Carthaginians, were so terrified, that they returned to the army of Agathocles. These, seeing a body of troops advancing towards them in good order, conceived they were marching to attack them, and therefore the cry of "To arms," was immediately thundered through the whole army. The lamentable screams, with which the air was rent, proceeding from the camp of the Carthaginians, combined with the flames towering to the heavens, corroborated this opinion, and increased the horrors of confusion. The consequences of this intestine fray were nearly similar to those which the Carthaginians had experienced; and neither had any reason to rejoice.

Agathocles, dispirited by this catastrophe, immediately turned his thoughts upon contriving some means for his escape, which at last he

with great difficulty effected. On his departure, the soldiers chose a leader from among themselves, having put to death his two sons, and made a peace with the Carthaginians.

Between this period and the commencement of the first Punick war, nothing remarkable appears in the history of the Carthaginians. At this time they possessed extensive dominions in Africa; had made considerable progress in Spain; were masters of Sardinia, Corsica, and all the islands on the coast of Italy; and had extended their conquests over a great part of Sicily. The Mamertines being reduced to great distress by Hiero, king of Syracuse, had determined to cede the city of Messina, the only one remaining in their possession, to that prince, being well assured of his mild government, as well as strict probity. On Hiero's advancing with his troops to take possession, he was met by Hannibal, who at that time commanded the Carthaginian army in Sicily, under the pretence of congratulating him on his good fortune. While Hannibal amused him with common-place conversation, some of the Carthaginian troops were dispatched towards Messina. On seeing a new reinforcement arrived for their succour, the Mamertines were divided into several opinions. Some proposed to accept the protection of Carthage; others were for rejecting their services, and surrendering to the king of Syracuse; but not agreeing on either alternative, at last it was determined that they should call in the aid of the Romans. Deputies were therefore immediately sent, offering their city to the Romans, and imploring their protection in the most pathetick terms. After some debate, their request was complied with

by sending Appius Claudius at the head of a strong army to attempt a passage to Sicily. Being necessarily detained for some time at Rome, Caius Claudius, a person endowed with great intrepidity, was dispatched with a few vessels to reconnoitre the coast. He found the Carthaginian squadron so much superior to his own, that it would have been bordering on madness to attempt a passage into Sicily at that time. He himself, however, crossed the straits, and made the necessary preparations for the transportation of the forces. The Carthaginians, on being informed of the designs of the Romans, fitted out a strong squadron of galleys, under the command of Hanno, to intercept their fleet; which they accordingly attacked with great fury, near the coast of Sicily. A violent storm arose during the engagement, which dashed many of the Roman vessels on the rocks; and the Carthaginian squadron likewise sustained considerable injury. After this unfortunate conflict, Claudius endeavoured to retire to Regium, which with great difficulty he at length accomplished; and Hanno immediately restored the ships he had taken, at the same time sending deputies to expostulate with the Roman general upon the infraction of the treaties subsisting between the two republicks. The pride of Claudius was so severely wounded by this conduct on the part of the enemy, that, deaf to all remonstrance, he soon made himself master of Messina.

Such was the beginning of the first Punick war, which is said to have lasted twenty-four years. The two nations from this time were accustomed to look upon each other as enemies. The Carthaginians were actuated by the desire

of extending their possessions in Sicily, and maintaining their accustomed empire of the sea. Nor did the consideration of humbling a haughty rival in a small degree stimulate their exertions. On the other hand, a spirit of opposition, combined with the hopes of adding Sicily and Sardinia to their dominions, proved a powerful stimulus to the Romans, for entering into warfare with the Carthaginians; though it was alleged, that a detestation of the character of that rival republick was the principal incentive. But this abhorrence might have been mutual; for it will easily be perceived, that the Carthaginian *faith* was much on a par with the Roman *probity*, when ambition or interest was concerned.

But to proceed. The first year of this war the Carthaginians, in alliance with the Syracusans, laid siege to Messina. But not acting in unison, which alone can give a probability of success to combined operations, and without which the superiority of numbers has little or no effect, they were completely routed by the consul Appius Claudius. After this defeat, Hiero felt such disgust at the conduct of the Carthaginians, that he immediately entered into an alliance with the Romans. This irreparable loss, the former soon felt with the greatest force: they were soon bereft of all the cities on the western coasts of Sicily by the Romans, who had now only one object to contend for, and one enemy to combat. At the conclusion of this successful campaign, they retired with the greatest portion of their troops into Italy, where they took up their winter quarters.

Hanno, the Carthaginian general, next year fixed his principal magazine at Agrigentum, a

place highly fortified by nature, but from the additional assistance of art, rendered almost impregnable; particularly as it was defended by a numerous garrison, under the command of Hannibal, a brave and experienced general. Finding all other means void of effect, the Romans attempted to reduce the place by famine; but when the garrison was brought almost to the verge of despondence from the severe distresses under which they laboured, a powerful reinforcement from Carthage reanimated their depressed spirits. The leader of these troops, while on his march, also received a deputation from some of the inhabitants of Erbessa, the place where all the Roman magazines were contained, offering to put their town into the hands of the Carthaginians; which being accordingly done, the Romans must inevitably have been compelled to abandon their enterprise, had they not received copious supplies of provisions from their ally Hiero. But notwithstanding all the aid he could afford them, the difficulties to which they were reduced must have decided their fate, had not an unexpected reverse of fortune attended them, in obtaining possession of Agrigentum, when rendered desperate by calamity. Hannibal, however, with the greatest part of the garrison, made their escape. Such was the end of this campaign; wherein great losses were sustained on both sides, from the complicated evils of famine, fatigue, and the ravages of war. The Carthaginians, incensed at their defeat, fined Hanno, who with the remains of his army had fled to Heraclea, in an immense sum of money; at the same time depriving him of his commission, which they conferred on Ha-

milcar, while Hannibal was nominated to the command of the fleet.

The admiral now received orders to ravage the coast of Italy; but the Romans having taken every precaution to oppose his landing, he was wholly unable to execute his commission. At the same time, the Romans, firmly convinced from experience of the advantages resulting from a superiority at sea, immediately built one hundred and twenty galleys; and during their equipment, they subdued most of the midland cities, but the Carthaginians still maintained their interest in the maritime places; so that the successes of each, at the end of the campaign, differed in a very trivial degree.

In the fourth year of the war, the Carthaginian admiral captured seventeen Roman galleys, having seduced their commander on board his fleet under pretence of concluding a firm and lasting peace between the two nations. This accomplished, Hannibal advanced at the head of fifty galleys in order to reconnoitre the remaining naval forces of the enemy. When on this expedition he was attacked by the Romans, and sustained a complete defeat, with extreme difficulty effecting his own escape. Animated by this success, under the conduct of Duillius, the Romans a second time gained a signal victory over him, taking eighty ships, besides thirteen sunk, and making considerable slaughter among his men. This in some degree raised the dejected spirits of the Romans, who were very much concerned at their previous loss, on that fickle element, the ocean. Duillius, afterwards, landed in Sicily; put himself at the head of the army, relieved Segesta, which was at that time besieged by Ha-

milcar, and gained possession of Macella, though defended by a numerous and powerful garrison.

Notwithstanding these defeats, the Carthaginians still maintained a very contemptible opinion of the Roman navy; while, on the other hand, the Romans dreaded the maritime forces of their antagonists. With the shattered remains of his fleet, Hannibal set sail for Carthage; but in order to secure himself from the punishment which he was confident would be inflicted on him, he sent one of his friends forward with all speed, before the final event of the battle could be publicly known, to acquaint the senate that the Romans had put to sea with a great number of heavy ill-built vessels, each carrying a kind of machine, with the use of which the Carthaginians were unacquainted; and at the same time to inquire, whether Hannibal should attack them. These machines were the corvi, which were at that time newly invented, and which were the chief cause of the success of the Romans. The senate were unanimous in their determination that the Romans should be attacked; upon which the messenger informed them of the unfortunate event of the battle. As the senate had already declared that their admiral should fight, they spared his life; and, according to Polybius, continued him in the command of the fleet.

In a short time having collected a considerable number of galleys, attended by officers of distinguished merit, Hannibal again sailed for the coast of Sardinia. He had not been on this station long, before he was surprised by the Roman fleet, which captured many of his ships, and took numerous prisoners; which so enraged the

remainder of his forces, that they immediately crucified their admiral. Had he escaped to Carthage, however, it is most probable he would have met with the same fate; for in that country it was falsely considered as the most heinous crime to be unfortunate. The pernicious effects of this ungenerous principle are too often severely felt, by those who live even in this more enlightened age.

In the mean time, these disasters were in some measure counterbalanced by the successes gained in Sicily by Hamilcar. Availing himself of a dissention which at that period existed between the Romans and the Sicilian allies, he took them by surprise, and put to the sword four thousand men. When he had achieved this, Hamilcar next proceeded to dislodge the Romans from their posts, took many cities, and overran great part of the island.

Soon after, we find that the state of affairs underwent a total change; the Romans having made themselves masters of the islands of Corsica and Sardinia, Hanno, who had the command of the troops in this latter, made such a spirited defence, while besieged at a city called Olbia, as is almost incredible. Having, however, been mortally wounded in one of the attacks, the place immediately surrendered to the Romans; but when on the point of death, he enjoyed this noble reflection, that he relinquished his delegated trust but with his life.

The Romans, in the succeeding campaign, took the town of Mytestratum, in Sicily, from whence they proceeded towards Camarina; but while on their march, they were surrounded in a deep valley, and in the most imminent danger of

being cut off by the Carthaginian army. While in this dilemma, to which the imprudence of their leader had exposed them, M. Calphurnius Flamina, legionary tribune, demanded a detachment of three hundred chosen men; promising to divert the attention of the Carthaginians, so as to enable his colleagues to pass unmolested. He accomplished this design with consummate skill, and a bravery truly heroick; for having seized, in defiance of all opposition, on an eminence, he intrenched himself there, which immediately drew the whole attention of the Carthaginian army to the spot. Thus the brave tribune kept the enemy on the alert; while the consul, taking advantage of the opportunity which now presented itself, conducted his army safely out of the intricate situation, into which, by his inadvertence, they had fallen. The legions, however, were no sooner out of danger themselves, than they hastened to the assistance of their gallant companions; but all their exertions could now only conduce to the preservation of their corpses from the insults of the enemy, as they found every individual apparently locked in the cold arms of death; their bodies lying heaped one upon another. Yet Calphurnius still betrayed some symptoms of animation, as they dragged him from beneath a pile of lifeless bodies; and by unremitting care and attention, he was at length restored to the enjoyment of life and health. As a reward for this glorious enterprise, he was presented with a crown of gramen*.

* In those happier days of Rome, this simple crown was considered as a greater encouragement to serve their country, than the hopes of obtaining the most splendid pecuniary reward.

After this the Romans reduced several cities, and totally expelled the enemy from the territory of the Agrigentines, but were repulsed with great loss from before Lipara.

In the following year, Regulus, who commanded the Roman fleet, observing the Carthaginians lying along the coast in a confused state, ventured with a squadron of ten galleys to observe their numbers and strength, ordering the remainder of his fleet to follow him with all expedition. Advancing too near the enemy, he was immediately encircled by a great number of their vessels. The Romans fought with their accustomed bravery, but were soon overpowered by superior force. The consul, however, having found means to escape, the rest of his fleet soon returned, and defeated the Carthaginians, taking eighteen of their ships, and sinking eight.

Both parties immediately made arrangements for a decisive engagement, collecting their whole naval forces, in order to determine the fate of Sicily, as well as the dominion of the sea. The consuls L. Manlius Vulso, and C. Attilius Regulus, commanded the Roman fleet, consisting of three hundred and fifty galleys, each of them having on board 120 soldiers and 300 rowers. The Carthaginian fleet was composed of three hundred and sixty sail, and was besides much better manned than that of the Romans.

Thus prepared to fight both by sea and land, the Romans advanced with the intention of invading Africa. They had arrived off Ecnomus, a promontory in Sicily, when being met by the Carthaginians, a bloody engagement commenced, which continued with unremitting ardour the greatest part of the day. At length the

Carthaginians were obliged to fly with the loss of thirty galleys sunk, and sixty-three taken, together with their men. The loss of the Romans was comprised in the sinking of twenty-four galleys. Having surmounted this grand obstacle, the Romans proceeded on their destination with the utmost expedition. They approached the land off Cape Hernea, where they lay at anchor till the straggling vessels came up; and from thence coasted along till they arrived before Clupea, a city to the east of Carthage, where they made their first descent.

No words can express the terror and consternation of the Carthaginians, upon the appearance of the Romans in Africa. The inhabitants of Clupea, according to Zonaras, were impressed with such an inordinate panick, that they immediately abandoned their habitations to the Romans. Having left a strong garrison in this place for the protection of their fleet, and to keep the adjacent territory in awe, they advanced towards Carthage, taking several towns in their way; they also plundered a prodigious number of villages, burnt many splendid seats of the great, and took above 20,000 prisoners. In short, after having laid waste the whole country, almost to the gates of Carthage, they returned to Clupea, heavily laden with the immense booty they had acquired in this expedition.

Regulus * carried on his conquests with such

* Regulus, who filled this exalted station, with such credit to himself and benefit to his country, is said to have possessed only seven acres of land, from the produce of which his family gained a subsistence. This small patrimony, during his absence, was

rapidity, that in order to oppose his progress, Hamilcar was recalled from Sicily, and joined in command with Bostar and Asdrubal. Hamilcar commanded an army of equal strength with that of Regulus; while his associates were intrusted with separate bodies, which were destined to assist or act apart, as occasion required. Meanwhile Regulus, pursuing his conquests, arrived on the banks of the Bagrada, a river which falls into the sea at a small distance from Carthage. Here he had to contend with a novel enemy, namely, with a serpent of prodigious magnitude, which, according to the description handed down to us by early historians, infected the waters of the river, contaminated the air, and by its very halitus proved fatal to every creature that ventured within its reach. On the Romans advancing to draw water, they were instantly attacked by this monster, which twisting itself around their bodies, squeezed them to death, while others were swallowed alive by this phenomenon. Its hard and thick scales were impenetrable either to darts or arrows, wherefore they had recourse to the balistæ, engines anciently used in sieges to throw immense stones

usurped by an hireling, and anxious to regain the pittance for the support of his family, he requested to have a successor appointed, in order that he might return to his country for this purpose. But the government knew too well how to appreciate the value of his abilities, to suffer him to resign his command, which was likely to prove of such publick utility, on such a trivial cause; they, therefore, maintained his wife and family at the publick expense, at the same time indemnifying him for the loss he had sustained from the robbery of the hireling. Thrice happy days, when poverty proved no barrier against the promotion of those endowed with real merit and abilities!

against the walls of cities. From these they discharged volleys of stones, and so far succeeded as to break its back bone. Thus disabled from twisting its enormous folds, the Romans approached and dispatched it with their darts. But the poisonous effluvia which was emitted from its dead carcase corrupted the air as well as the waters of the river to such a degree, and spread such infection throughout the whole country, that the victors were compelled to make a hasty retreat. The skin of this monster, measuring in length one hundred and twenty feet, is said to have been sent to Rome, where it was preserved to the period of the Numantine war.

After having passed this river, Regulus laid siege to Adis, or Adda, a fortress of great importance, situated at a small distance from Carthage, which Hamilcar and his colleagues attempted to relieve; but they imprudently fixed the encampment among hills and rocks, where the elephants, in which their chief strength consisted, were incapable of acting. Regulus perceiving and taking advantage of this error, immediately attacked them in their camp, killed 17,000 men, and took 5000, together with eighteen elephants. Upon the fame of this victory, deputations to the conqueror, with offers of surrender, poured in from all quarters, so that in the course of a few days the Romans were possessed of eighty towns, among which was the city of Utica. The alarm of the Carthaginians was vastly heightened by these reiterated misfortunes; and they were almost reduced to despair, when Regulus laid siege to Tunis, a city about nine miles distant from the capital. Terror had so completely benumbed their powers, that they beheld the event of this siege from

their walls without making any attempt to oppose it; and to complete their calamities, at this very time, the Numidians, their inveterate enemies, entered the territories of Carthage, committing the most dreadful devastations; from which combined causes a scarcity of provisions speedily arose in the city. The publick magazines were soon exhausted; and the selfish merchants taking advantage of the general distress, demanded a most exorbitant price for what they had to sell. These concomitant evils, rendered a famine at Carthage inevitable, more especially as the produce of the earth had been in a great measure destroyed by the hostile armies.

While under the heavy pressure of these complicated distresses, Regulus advanced to the very gates of Carthage. Here he encamped, dispatching deputies with powers to treat for a peace. But the terms offered were so insupportably arrogant, that the Carthaginians, with a laudable zeal and indignation, spurned the proposals, determining to suffer all extremities rather than submit to the conditions which Regulus had dictated. Insolent from the uninterrupted successes which had attended the prowess of his arms, he wrote for answer to the senate, "that the Carthaginians were on the brink of destruction, and he had taken care to seal up their gates with fear." Adding, "they should learn either to conquer or submit."

At this perilous crisis, some mercenaries arrived from Greece, at the head of whom was Xantippus, the Lacedæmonian, a person of great bravery and experience, having been educated in the warlike school of Sparta, at that time the most renowned in the world, for the

many distinguished warriors it had produced. On being informed of the circumstances of the late engagement, this general alleged in publick, that their defeat ought more justly to be attributed to the false measures adopted by the Carthaginians, in choosing a situation where their chief strength had not scope for action, than to the superior powers of the enemy. At the same time declaring, that by an opposite mode of conduct they might retrieve the state of their affairs, and expel the Romans from their dominions. These seasonable exhortations and suggestions at length reached the ears of the senate, who, together with the unsuccessful generals, begged that Xantippus would take the command in chief of their forces. Having after due deliberation consented to assume this appointment, he proceeded to discipline the troops in all the evolutions and movements of the Lacedæmonian school. As nothing can inspire the soldiers with a greater degree of courage, than confidence in the abilities of their general, the Carthaginian troops, who had been dejected by their late misfortunes, now thought themselves invincible under the conduct of Xantippus; who, on his part, unwilling to suffer their present zealous ardour to cool through delay, immediately drew them up in order of battle, while under the influence of this favourable impression. The Romans were surprised at the sudden alteration which appeared in the movements of their enemy: but Regulus, trusting to his previous good fortune, instantly advanced within a short distance of the Carthaginian army, who, in opposition to their former fatal arrangements, had now pitched upon a vast plain. The space be-

tween the two armies was intersected by a river, which Regulus intrepidly crossed, leaving no means of escape in case of a defeat. The engagement commenced with incredible fury on both sides; but in the end the Romans were completely discomfited; their whole army, excepting 2000, who escaped to Clupea, being either killed or taken prisoners *, among the latter of whom was their general Regulus.

The victorious Carthaginians now entered the metropolis in triumph, and were received with unbounded acclamations. They treated all the prisoners with the greatest humanity, except Regulus; but to him they applied tortures which no principles of honourable warfare can justify, and at the bare recital of which undepraved nature revolts. Though it must be allowed, that the pride and arrogance which he had displayed in his prosperity were sufficient to exasperate their feelings to the most acute degree, still it should have been considered, that he was severely humbled by his present situation, which reflection should have taught them forbearance. For in proportion as they had shown lenity and compassion to a prostrate and a captive foe, they would have heightened their own character as a civilized and generous people, and infallibly gained the praise and admiration of an impartial posterity. In any case, his own private misfortunes must have been a sufficient expiation for the insolence he evinced when intoxicated by uninterrupted suc-

* Notwithstanding the eminent services rendered to a country which could have no claim for his exertions, the Carthaginians basely assassinated Xantippus, on his passage to his native country!

cess. The desire, however, of revenge for the insults offered by this man, was too predominant in the minds of the Carthaginians, to suffer for a moment the interference of the milder and nobler passions of the soul. He was thrown into a dungeon, where he had a portion of food allowed him, barely sufficient to support life; and a huge elephant, to which animal he felt an insuperable antipathy, was constantly placed near him, so as to prevent the enjoyment either of tranquillity or repose. But what was still more barbarous, after his return from an unsuccessful embassy to the Roman senate, they cut off his eyelids, and afterwards exposed him to the excessive heat of the meridian sun for some days; and in order to complete the refinement of their cruelty, they next enclosed him in a barrel, the sides of which were every-where filled with large iron spikes, where he lay in excruciating agonies, till released by the welcome hand of death.

The Carthaginians, after this signal victory over Regulus, meditated no less than an invasion of Italy itself. The Romans took care, however, to garrison all their maritime towns, and put themselves in a state of preparation for this menaced attack. In the mean time, the Carthaginians besieged Clupea and Utica; but were compelled to relinquish this enterprise, upon hearing that the Romans were fitting out a fleet of 350 sail. To oppose this powerful armament, their old vessels were immediately refitted by the Carthaginians, and new ones built with incredible expedition. The hostile fleets met off Cape Hermea, where the Carthaginians were utterly vanquished, with immense loss. The Romans now pursued their course to Clupea,

where they were attacked by the Carthaginian army, under the two Hanno's, father and son: but the bravery and military skill of Xantippus no longer inspired the men with courage; and notwithstanding the Lacedæmonian discipline he had introduced, and which was still practised, they were routed at the very first onset, with the loss of 9000 men, among whom fell many of their chief officers.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the Romans were obliged to evacuate Africa, from the want of provisions; when the consuls, desirous of signalising the eve of their authority by some important victory in Sicily, steered for that island, contrary to the advice of the pilots, who represented the danger that would attend their passage, at such an advanced stage of the season. Their minds, however, were too much bent upon this enterprise to listen to the voice of reason; and a violent storm arising, only 80 out of 370 vessels escaped shipwreck. By this misfortune, Rome sustained a greater blow than it had yet felt; for besides a numerous army and navy, all the spoils of Africa, which had been amassed by Regulus and deposited in Clupea till now, when they were about to be transported to Rome, were swallowed up by the waves. The whole coast from Pachinum to Camarina was strewed with dead bodies and wrecks of ships. In all the records of history, perhaps, there is not to be found a disaster that will bear a parallel with this, if viewed in all its aspects.

On the news of this dreadful catastrophe, the Carthaginians renewed the war in Sicily with unabated ardour, hoping in its present defenceless state, to be able to subjugate the whole

island. Fired with this idea, Carthalo, a Carthaginian commander, besieged and took Agrigentum, obliging the inhabitants to fly to Olympium; and, to follow up these advantages, Asdrubal was sent from Carthage with a powerful reinforcement of troops, and 150 elephants. At the same time, they fitted out a squadron, with which they regained the island of Cosyra; and marched a strong body of forces into Mauritania and Numidia, to punish the inhabitants for the disposition they had evinced of entering into allegiance with the Romans. In Sicily, Cephalodium and Panormus were still possessed by the Romans, but they were obliged by Carthalo to raise the siege of Drepanum.

A Roman fleet of 260 galleys soon after appeared off Lilybæum, in Sicily; but finding that place impregnable, they changed their course towards the eastern coast of Africa, where they made repeated incursions. Then, touching at Panormus, in a few days after they set sail for Italy; but when they came near Cape Palinurus they were overtaken by a violent storm, in which 160 of their galleys and a great many of their transports were sunk. The Roman senate, dejected by this fresh naval misfortune, issued a decree, that for the future no more than 50 vessels were to be equipped, and those used solely in guarding the coast of Italy and conveying troops into Sicily.

In the fourteenth year of the war, the Romans gained possession of Himera and Lipara, in Sicily; but at the same time the Carthaginians, still unbroken, fitted out a very powerful armament both of land and sea forces, appointing Asdrubal to the command of the whole. The Romans

perceiving the advantages resulting from a fleet, immediately set about preparing one, notwithstanding the misfortunes which had attended their former endeavours, and the decree they had passed; and while the vessels were building, they appointed two consuls, men of distinguished bravery and experience, to supersede those acting in Sicily. Metellus, however, one of the former consuls, was continued with the title of proconsul, when finding means to draw Asdrubal into a disadvantageous battle near Panormus, he gave him a most terrible overthrow.

Some time after this unfortunate action, the Carthaginians receiving intelligence that the Romans had laid siege to Lilybæum, immediately reinforced the garrison of that place with a strong body of chosen troops; at the same time strengthening the fortifications by every possible means, so as to render them almost impregnable. In the mean time, the Roman fleet was completely defeated by Adherbal, the Carthaginian admiral. Eight thousand of their men fell in this engagement, and 20,000 were sent prisoners to Carthage. What is peculiarly remarkable in the circumstances of this signal victory is, that it was accomplished without the loss of a ship, or even a single man, on the side of the Carthaginians. The remainder of the Roman fleet met a still more severe fate. It was composed of 120 galleys, and 800 transports, laden with all kinds of military stores and provisions; all which were lost in a storm with their whole cargo, and not a single plank was recovered that could again be converted to any

use. In this storm the Romans were again deprived of all their navy.

About this period, some signs of mutiny appearing in the army of the Carthaginians, Hamilcar Barcas, father of the illustrious Hannibal, was sent over into Sicily, having received a *charte blanche* from the senate, investing him with full powers to act as he thought proper; and by his excellent conduct and resolution, he showed himself the greatest commander of his age. Having taken Eryx by surprise, he defended it with such vigour and circumspection, that had not the Roman citizens fitted out a fleet at their own private expense, which gained a victory over the Carthaginian admiral, no force could probably have compelled him to relinquish the possession of this place. But being at length obliged to yield, a convention was drawn up between the two commanders, by the conditions of which the Carthaginians were constrained to surrender all their remaining possessions in Sicily; for the space of twenty years to pay an annual tribute to Rome, amounting in the whole to 2200 talents of silver, equal to 437,250l. sterling; to restore the Roman prisoners without ransom, but to redeem their own with money: neither by this agreement were they permitted to declare war against Hiero or his allies. This treaty was sent to Rome to be ratified by the senate; but they taking advantage of the unfortunate situation of the Carthaginian affairs, added two more conditions: namely, that 1000 talents should be paid immediately, and the 2200 within the space of ten years; insisting also that the Carthaginians

should evacuate all the small islands adjacent to Italy and Sicily, and never more appear near them with ships of war, or attempt to raise mercenaries in that quarter. Dire necessity obliged Hamilcar to comply with those additional terms; but he returned to Carthage with an inveterate hatred for the Romans, which he did not even suffer to die with him, binding his son, the illustrious Hannibal, by the most solemn oath, never to be in friendship with the Romans, a vow which he faithfully performed.

CHAP. II.

From the Termination of the first Punick war to the Destruction of Carthage.

NO sooner was this destructive war at an end, than the Carthaginians were embroiled in another, accompanied by every excess of the most abandoned cruelty. This war arose from the impoverished state in which Hamilcar found the republick; for so far from being able to pay the largesses and rewards which he had promised the mercenaries, it could not even discharge their arrears. He had intrusted Gisco, an officer of great penetration, with the care of transporting these mercenaries, and who, with his usual good management, shipped them off in small parties separately, that those who came first might be paid off before the arrival of the rest; but the Carthaginians at home did not evince the same prudence. The finances of the state being much impaired by the expenses of the late war, and the immense tribute demanded by the Romans, they judged it impolitick to reduce the publick to such a degree of impoverishment, as the payment of these troops would necessarily occasion. They therefore waited till all the mercenaries were assembled together, in the hopes of obtaining some remission of the arrears; but the frequent disturbances committed by these barbarians, arising from dissatisfaction, soon convinced them of their error. At length, with

some difficulty, they prevailed upon the officers to canton their troops in the vicinity of Sicca, giving them a sum of money for their present subsistence, and promising to comply with their demands on the arrival of the remainder of the army from Sicily. While in this place, immersed in idleness and dissipation, to which they had been wholly unaccustomed, a total neglect of discipline prevailed; and, in consequence, a petulant and licentious spirit raged with disastrous vehemence throughout the whole camp. Gradually becoming more insolent, they were resolved not to acquiesce in their bare pay, but to insist upon the rewards promised by Hamilcar, threatening to obtain their demands by force of arms, in case of a refusal. On being informed of these mutinous expressions of the soldiery, the senate immediately dispatched Hanno, one of the suffetes, to ward off the impending storm, which menaced the very destruction of the state. Thinking to appease these mercenaries by expatiating on the poverty of the republick, and the heavy taxes with which the Carthaginians were oppressed, he requested them to be satisfied with receiving a certain portion of their arrears, and to relinquish the claim to the rest, in order that it might be applied to alleviate the pressing exigencies of the state. But it is not to be wondered at, that those who combated in its cause merely for the sake of a pecuniary reward, should be unwilling to sacrifice the only incentive for their assistance, and more especially for the good of a country, to which they owed no natural attachment. Thus finding their reasonable expectations deceived, so far as not even to receive their stipulated pay,

much less any gratuitous reward, they immediately had recourse to arms for the enforcement of their claims; and assembling in a body of 20,000 men, they encamped before the city of Tunes.

The Carthaginians, alarmed at the hostile disposition of so formidable a body of men, made large concessions to bring them back to subordination, which, instead of having the desired effect, served only to heighten their insolence; and perceiving their force, they grew averse from any terms of accommodation. On this, the Carthaginians, making a virtue of necessity, agreed to refer the business to some general who had witnessed their bravery in Sicily. Gisco was therefore appointed to mediate this affair; and accordingly he soon arrived at Tunes with money to pay off the rebellious troops. Having conferred with the officers of the various nations which had been employed, all differences were in a happy train of being adjusted, when Spendius, a man of notorious character in his own country, and Mathos, another of the chief mutineers, fearful lest they should be punished according to their demerits, spread the baneful seeds of discontent through the whole camp, under pretence that it would be dangerous to conclude any treaty with their former masters. In consequence of this sinister insinuation, the negociation was immediately suspended; and nothing but the most horrid imprecations against Gisco and the Carthaginians were now to be heard. Whoever offered to make any remonstrance, or seemed inclined to listen to any temperate counsels, was stoned to death by the tumultuous multitude. They even car-

fied their frantick rage so far, as to stab many who had attempted to open their lips, even before they had time to declare whether they were in the interest of Spendius or of the Carthaginians.

In this trying situation, Gisco's conduct was marked with amazing firmness and intrepidity. He employed every means to calm the perturbed minds of the soldiers; but the torrent of sedition was so strong as to overwhelm every thing within its reach; and the voice of reason was drowned by the deafening roar of ungovernable fury. The military chest was seized by the mutineers, and the money distributed as part of their arrears. They next proceeded to load Gisco and all his followers with irons, treating them with every indignity that brutal rage could devise. All the cities of Africa to whom they had sent invitations to assist in asserting their freedom, soon joined in the rebellion; except Utica and Hippo Diarrhytus, which still maintained their allegiance to the Carthaginians.

The rebel forces were divided into two parts, one of which marched towards each of these cities, in order to intimidate them into a compliance with their demands; while the Carthaginians suffered all the calamities incident to intestine commotions. After having been exhausted by a tedious and destructive war, they were in hopes of enjoying the balmy effects of peace and repose; but, on the contrary, they were now harassed by an internal foe, more dreadful even than their foreign enemy; and, to complete their misfortunes, they had no hopes of receiving assistance from any of their former

allies. The Africans kept them in constant alarm, advancing to the very walls of Carthage, and treating every citizen who fell into their hands with the most exquisite cruelty.

Hanno was dispatched to the relief of Utica with a strong body of forces. He succeeded so far as to repulse the enemy with great loss; but after this victory, neglecting the discipline of his troops, in his turn, he was totally routed by the mercenaries, and obliged to take refuge in the town. This, however, was not the only instance of the misconduct or incapacity of Hanno; for notwithstanding he maintained an advantageous station near a town called Gorza, at which place he had twice defeated the enemy, he neglected to improve his successes, though he certainly had it in his power; and on the other hand suffered the hostile army to possess themselves of the isthmus, which joined the peninsula on which Carthage stood, to the continent.

These repeated proofs of mismanagement at last induced the Carthaginians to transfer the command of their forces to Hamilcar Barcas, who by consummate skill and courage set about retrieving the affairs of his country. After he had taken a favourable position, by making a feint of retreat, Hamilcar drew the enemy into a disadvantageous battle, in which he gave them a complete overthrow, with the loss of 6000 killed and 2000 taken prisoners. Nor did he allow them time to recover from the shock; but immediately pursued them with the greatest courage and perseverance; in consequence of which many towns made a voluntary capitulation to the Carthaginians, while others were reduced by force.

Undaunted amidst all these disasters, Mathos, who had assumed the principal command, still pushed on the siege of Hippo with the greatest vigour, appointing Spendius and Autaritus, at the head of a strong body of Gauls, to observe the motions of Hamilcar. At length these two commanders having received a reinforcement of Africans and Numidians, and being possessed of all the heights surrounding the plain on which Hamilcar was encamped, determined to snatch this favourable opportunity of attacking him; and had they followed up their design, Hamilcar must inevitably have been cut off; but, on the contrary, Naravassus, a young Numidian nobleman, deserting the enemy at this important crisis with 2000 men, the Carthaginian found himself enabled to offer battle. The conflict was obstinate and bloody; but in the end the mercenaries were overthrown with an immense loss. Those among the prisoners who were willing to enlist into the Carthaginian army were gladly received by Hamilcar, while the others were allowed the full liberty to retire where they pleased; upon condition, however, that they should never more take up arms against the Carthaginians, under pain of suffering condign punishment, should they again fall into his hands.

This policy as well as lenity in Hamilcar, made Mathos and his associates tremble, lest a general defection should take place among the troops. To obviate this, he stimulated them to perpetrate some action so execrable, that there might remain no hopes of pardon or reconciliation: and in order to effect this breach, Gisco and all the Carthaginian prisoners were put to death; and on Hamilcar's petitioning for the

dead bodies of his departed friends, the messenger was dismissed with the assurance, that should any one repeat this request he should meet with Gisco's fate; and not satisfied with this, they treated with the same barbarity all the Carthaginians who afterwards happened to fall into their hands. As a retaliation for this enormity, Hamilcar delivered all the prisoners which were taken by him to be devoured by wild beasts; under the conviction, that compassion only rendered his enemies more cruel and presumptuous.

The war was in general carried on to the advantage of the Carthaginians; nevertheless, the malcontents still had it in their power to muster 50,000 men. Closely watching the motions of Hamilcar, they prudently avoided approaching too near, while on champaign ground; but at length Hamilcar, by a superiority of skill and conduct, surrounded them in a situation from which it was impossible to extricate themselves. Here he kept them strictly besieged; and the mercenaries, unwilling to risk a battle, began to fortify their camp, encompassing it with deep intrenchments. Labouring under the direful effects of famine, which soon raged among them with all its concomitant horrors, and rendered desperate by the consciousness of their guilt, they had not even the hopes of obtaining mercy to support them. At length, driven to the dire extremity of subsisting on the bodies of their companions, and harassed by all the numerous train of evils attendant on famine and blockade, the troops insisted that Spendius, Autaritus, and Zarxas, their leaders, should in person make proposals of submission to Hamilcar, Having allowed them to treat, it was finally stipulated that every man should be

completely disarmed, and that ten of their ringleaders should be left to the mercy of the Carthaginians. This treaty, however, was no sooner concluded, than Hamilcar seized upon the negociators themselves; which circumstance no sooner reached the ears of the revolters, than they had recourse to arms, conceiving their agreement to have been violated. Hamilcar, on perceiving this eruption, drew up his troops, and immediately surrounding them, cut in pieces upwards of 40,000 of these unfortunate wretches.

After the destruction of this army, Hamilcar invested Tunes, whither Mathos with his remaining forces had retired. Hannibal, another Carthaginian general, having been joined in command with Hamilcar, they were no sooner encamped than Spendius, with the rest of the prisoners, were crucified within the view of the besieged. Meanwhile Mathos, perceiving that Hannibal kept a weak guard, sallied forth and killed many of his men, and took Hannibal himself with some others prisoners. As if zealous to vie with each other which should lay claim to the palm of cruelty, Mathos immediately took down Spendius and his fellow-sufferers from the cross, and substituted Hannibal, accompanied with thirty Carthaginian persons of distinction, in their room.

Still the Carthaginians left no means untried that might conduce to the welfare of the state. They therefore immediately dispatched thirty senators to consult with Hamilcar about measures to effect the termination of this intestine war. Judiciously sacrificing private animosity to the publick welfare, Hanno and Hamilcar agreed to act in unison to attain this important end. Pres-

sing all who were capable of bearing arms into their service, they now defeated the enemy in every rencounter. At length they gave Mathos a decisive blow near Leptis, and the hostile troops fled in every direction, but were chiefly overtaken by the revengeful sword of the Carthaginian army. Mathos, with a few others, however, having escaped to a neighbouring town, was taken alive and being escorted to Carthage, suffered all that ingenious cruelty could inflict, though not more than his enormities had deserved.

While the Carthaginians had thus been contesting the independence of their own country, the Romans, under the veil of securing Sardinia from the revolted mercenaries, who had even penetrated as far as that island, having introduced their own garrisons, kept possession of the towns till they could obtain the reimbursement of their expenses, though they had pretended they were acting as friends. Hamilcar, sensible of the inferiority of the power of his own country to that of Rome, formed a scheme to raise it to a level with its haughty rival; by extending his conquests in Spain, which would employ and exercise a vast number of soldiers, and render them fit to contend with the Roman veterans. Having made the necessary preparations for this grand enterprise, Hamilcar, after extending the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, entered Spain, where he remained in command for nine years. During this period he amassed immense treasures, which he distributed, partly among his soldiers, and partly among the great men of Carthage; and by these means he effectually secured the interest of those two powerful bodies. After having subdued large tracts

of territory, he was at length killed in battle, and succeeded by his son-in-law Asdrubal. This general answered the high expectations his countrymen entertained of his abilities; he carried on his conquests in Spain with still greater rapidity than his predecessor, and built the city of new Carthage, now called Carthagena.

The acquisitions which Asdrubal had made in Spain, during a seven-years' command, were such as to excite the jealousy of the Romans; but he was at length assassinated by a Gaul, whose master had been put to death at his instigation. Three years previously to the death of Asdrubal, he had requested that Hannibal, then only twenty-two years of age, might be sent to him. This request, notwithstanding the opposition of Hanno, being granted; Hannibal was no sooner arrived in the camp, than he conciliated the sincere affection of the army, both from the similitude he bore to Hamilcar, and his own natural talents and abilities. On the death of Asdrubal, of course, he was declared general by the army with every demonstration of joy; and immediately exerted his superior powers, by subduing many of the most considerable nations in Spain.

No obstacle whatever impeded the progress of the Carthaginian arms, except that the city of Saguntum, which was situated in the centre of their conquests, still remained in the possession of the Romans. Hannibal, however, having found means to embroil some of the neighbouring cantons with the Saguntines, by these means furnished himself with a pretext for attacking their city. Two ambassadors arriving from the Roman senate to remonstrate against

this recommencement of hostilities, he answered that the Saguntines had drawn these calamities on themselves, by entering into a quarrel with the allies of Carthage. Not satisfied with this reply, the ambassadors proceeded to Carthage, where they declared that if Hannibal was not delivered up to the punishment of the Romans, hostilities should immediately be renewed against them. Such was the origin of the second Punick war.

After a siege of eight months, the city of Saguntum was taken, and the inhabitants experienced all the severities which the conquerors could inflict. This object being gained, Hannibal put his African troops into winter quarters at new Carthage, in the mean time permitting the Spanish auxiliaries to retire to their respective homes.

Having taken the necessary precautions for the security of Africa and Spain, Hannibal now passed over the Iberus, and subdued every nation lying between that river and the Pyrenées, appointing Hanno governor of all the newly conquered districts. From thence he proceeded on his march for Italy, across the Pyrenées, and after surmounting many difficulties, ascended the Alps, being conducted by Magilus, prince of the Boii; after a fatiguing march of nine days, he halted a short time on the summit of these stupendous mountains, in order to recruit the wearied spirits of the troops. The snow, which had fallen in great quantities, and the piercing cold, which they had been unaccustomed to feel, alarmed the Spaniards and Africans; but, in order to cheer away the gloom that hovered round their hearts, he led them to the highest rock on the side

of Italy, where he pointed out the fruitful plains of Insubria; assuring them, that the Gauls, who inhabited that country, were ready to join them: at the same time declaring, that by climbing the Alps, they had scaled the walls of that rich metropolis, Rome. Having thus inspired his troops with resolution to suffer and to die, they began to descend through deep snows, mountains of ice, and terrifick precipices, more formidable than the opposition of the enemies, they had to combat in their ascent. At length after vanquishing obstacles almost insuperable to any but such a man as Hannibal, they arrived on the plains of Insubria, and now assumed the boldness and intrepidity of victors.

On mustering his forces Hannibal found they had suffered a dreadful diminution since their setting out from New Carthage. He refreshed the survivors, however, rendered languid and inanimate by the inexpressible hardships they had encountered, with an assiduity and success which could not be surpassed; and uniting them with the Insubrians, they laid siege to Taurinum, the inhabitants of which city had waged war against the Carthaginian ally. It resisted the combined armies but three days, when taking possession, they put all those to the sword who opposed their progress. This struck the neighbouring barbarians with such terror, that they spontaneously submitted to the conqueror, supplying his army with provisions, and doing every thing in their power to facilitate his further progress.

The Roman general Scipio, surprised to find his antagonist had crossed the Alps, and already entered into Italy, having gone in quest of him on the banks of the Rhone, immediately returned

with the greatest expedition. An engagement ensuing near the river Ticinus, the Romans sustained a heavy defeat, and were compelled to repass that river, In the mean time, Hannibal continued his progress, till arriving on the banks of the Po, he halted for two days, to refresh his men, and to construct a bridge of boats. Having effected his passage, he dispatched his brother Mago in pursuit of the enemy, who, having rallied their scattered forces, had fixed their encampment at Placentia. Afterwards he concluded a treaty with several Gallick cantons, and advancing a day's march beyond the Po, was rejoined by Mago, with the other division of his army. The Carthaginians again offered battle to the Roman consul; but, intimidated by the desertion of a body of Gauls, and by the ardour of the enemy, he retreated to an eminence on the opposite side of the river Trebia. Hannibal, apprised of the consul's departure, sent out the Numidian horse to harass him on his march; and himself followed with the main army, in order to assist in case of necessity. They soon brought the Romans to an engagement, and defeated them with great loss; pursuing the fugitives, who amounted to about ten thousand, as far as the Trebia. After this action, Hannibal made frequent incursions into the Roman territories, endeavouring by every means to win the affection of the Gauls, as well as of the allies of Rome, by dismissing all the prisoners without ransom, and engaging to defend them in case of molestation from his enemies.

After carrying on this desultory warfare for some time, he crossed the Apennines, and penetrated into Etruria; when hearing that the new

consul, Flaminius, lay encamped under the walls of Arretium, he had no doubt of being able to inflame the impetuous spirit of his adversary to a battle. To effect this, he took the road leading to Rome; and leaving the hostile forces behind him, desolated all the country through which he passed with fire and sword. Flaminius, indignant at beholding the ravages committed by the Carthaginians, approached them with great temerity; and being drawn into an ambuscade, near the lake Thrasymenus, lost his life on the field of battle, together with 15,000 men. Great numbers were likewise taken prisoners, as was a body of 6000 men, who had taken refuge in a town of Etruria. Hannibal lost but 1500 men in this conflict, who were chiefly Gauls; though many on both sides afterwards died of their wounds. Soon after he dispatched Maherbal, with considerable forces of cavalry and infantry, to attack a body of horse which had been detached from Ariminum by the consul Servillius, to reinforce his colleague in Etruria. The detachment, after a short dispute, was reduced, with considerable slaughter, to the necessity of submitting to the victorious Carthaginians. This disaster, happening within so few days after the defeat at Thrasymenus, was severely felt by the Romans, notwithstanding their natural magnanimity.

A scorbutick disorder at this time prevailing throughout the Carthaginian army, occasioned by their being obliged to pitch their camps in unwholesome morasses, Hannibal reposed for a considerable time in the beautiful and fertile country of Adria. Having taken possession of that part of the territory bordering on the sea, he dispatched a messenger to Carthage with the

news of his victorious progress, which was received by his countrymen with the most joyful acclamations; and they immediately resolved to reinforce their armies in Italy and Spain with a proper number of troops.

The Romans, in the utmost consternation, appointed a dictator, as was customary in times of danger. Fabius Maximus, surnamed Verrucosus, was chosen to this office; a man equally remarkable for his deliberation and circumspection, as Flaminius was for ardour and impetuosity. He followed Hannibal at a distance into Apulia, keeping him in continual alarm; but could not be prevailed on to come to an engagement, notwithstanding the disapprobation expressed by his own army at the supine indifference he showed in repressing the ravages committed by the enemy in Campania, one of the finest countries in Italy. These complaints at length rose to such a height, that the dictator, fearing to irritate his army, feigned a desire to meet his opponent in the field. He therefore pursued Hannibal with greater alacrity than usual, still, however, under various pretences, taking care to avoid an engagement, even with more assiduity than the enemy courted it. At length Hannibal, having exhausted every means to provoke the dictator to a battle, determined to quit Campania, which he found abounding more with fruit and wine than corn; and to return to Samnium through the difficult pass called Eribanus. Fabius perceiving his intention, from the direction in which he marched, arrived there before him; and encamping on Mount Callicula, prepared to oppose his passage. This scheme was, however, rendered abortive by a strata-

gem, which Fabius could neither foresee nor guard against. Arrived at the foot of the mount Callicula, Hannibal directed that 2000 of the strongest and more active oxen should have faggots tied to their horns; and under the veil of night, when all was still and quiet, that the faggots should be set on fire, while the herdsmen, driving them quietly along, arrived within sight of the Roman camp. Fabius depended on the troops whom he had placed in ambuscade to prevent the passage of Hannibal; but these seeing the lights approach them on all sides, and supposing themselves surrounded by the enemy, fell back upon their own camp, in trepidation, and suffered their adversaries to pass unmolested. Fabius, though rallied by his soldiers at being thus over-reached by the Carthaginians, still pursued his original plan, of procrastination; and contented himself with closely watching the motions of the enemy.

Hannibal, amidst all his ravages, having studiously spared the lands of the dictator, it was suspected that an improper correspondence existed between the two commanders; on which account Fabius was recalled to Rome, to explain the motives of his conduct. During his absence Minucius, the general of the horse, gained some advantages, which considerably strengthened the allegations against the dictator; but having satisfied the senate, he was restored to his rank, though Minucius was put on an equal footing with him, in the command of the army. Thus being divided into two parts, the latter led his division into an engagement, which must inevitably have ended in their total loss, had not Fabius hastened to his assistance. Minucius,

ashamed of his rashness, and conscious of his own want of skill, immediately resigned the entire command to the superior talents of Fabius.

The Roman army was now augmented to the number of 87,000 men; and Hannibal, being reduced to the greatest distress for the want of provisions, left Samnium, and directed his course into Apulia, leaving fires burning and tents remaining in his camp, from which the Romans were led to believe, for some time, that his retreat was only feigned. But the truth being at length developed, the Carthaginian army was overtaken at Cannæ, an obscure village in Apulia. A battle ensued as memorable as any which the eventful pages of history unfold to our view. The contest terminated in the complete defeat of the Roman army, though almost double in number to that of the Carthaginians. At least 45,000 fell in this fatal conflict, and 10,000 were taken prisoners. In Hannibal's camp, the night passed away in feasting and rejoicings, and the succeeding day the two Roman camps, jointly containing the small number of 4000 men, were invested by the victorious general.

That portion of Italy called the Old Province, Magna Grecia, Tarentum, and part of the territory of Capua, immediately surrendered to Hannibal. The neighbouring provinces likewise evinced a disposition to throw off the Roman yoke, but waited to see whether the Carthaginians could maintain power to protect them. Admiring the humanity which Hannibal had all along shown to the Italian prisoners, and the signal victories he had gained, many cities and provinces were induced to court his

protection. Even the Campanians themselves, a nation more favoured by the Romans than any in Italy, except the Latins, were strongly inclined to abandon their natural friends. The Carthaginians receiving intelligence of this, bent their march towards Capua, which, from the popular faction reigning there, was easily added to their acquisitions. Soon after the submission of this place, many cities of the Brutii likewise opened their gates to Hannibal. Mago was then dispatched to Carthage with the news of the decisive victory at Cannæ, and the consequent successes resulting from it.

What Hannibal had already achieved, under so many disadvantages, must undoubtedly entitle him to rank higher in regard to courage and abilities, than any other hero, ancient or modern. To conquer, with inferior numbers, men endowed with the most intrepid and warlike disposition in the whole world, was not to be effected by mere common-place talents. He had not to contend with barbarians, nor uncivilized nations; neither, as was the case with Alexander the Great, had he to combat with a country sunk into sloth and effeminacy; but with men of superior strength, and equally skilled in military affairs with himself. He attacked that powerful nation with an army of 26,000 men, debarred of any resource, either for money, recruits, or provisions, except what he could procure in an enemy's country, by his own unparalleled abilities. Nor was there any deficiency in the talents of the Roman generals, as will appear from their having conquered the most martial nations, when under the command of any but a Hannibal.

Yet, from the period of the battle of Cannæ,

the successes of this illustrious warrior began to decline. The Roman historians, wishing to detract from the high character of Hannibal, and unwilling that such a noble example of courage, skill, and magnanimity, should be faithfully recorded, lest it should derogate from the fame of their own heroes, have debased him, by declaring that he enervated himself and his soldiers to such a degree by debaucheries, whilst remaining in winter quarters at Capua, that he was no longer able to cope with the Romans. But this assertion is afterwards confuted even by their own pens, when they confess that after the battle of Cannæ he gave their armies frequent and terrible defeats, taking many of their towns in the very presence of their defenders.

But the insufficient resources, supplied by the republick of Carthage, for reinforcing his army, appear to have been the real causes that ought to be assigned for the sad reverse of fortune which Hannibal was now doomed to experience. On the first news, indeed, of his success reaching Carthage, a body of 4000 Numidian cavalry, and 40 elephants, together with 1000 talents of silver, were granted by the senate. A large detachment of Spanish troops was also appointed to follow, and Mago was commissioned to hasten their equipment. Had this supply been sent with proper expedition, it is most probable that the Romans would have had little reason to reflect upon Hannibal's conduct at Capua, as the next campaign must undoubtedly have terminated in the submission of that haughty republick to the superior force of his arms. But, notwithstanding the influence of the Barcinian fac-

tion of Carthage, Hanno and his adherents, sacrificing the publick good to the pernicious jealousy of their infatuated party, found means by their artifice not only to retard the march of the intended reinforcements, but even to diminish their numbers. Thus deserted by his native country, Hannibal now found himself reduced to the necessity of acting in the defensive instead of pursuing his career as a conqueror; his army amounting to no more than 26,000 foot and 9000 horse; yet even when labouring under such discouraging circumstances, which prevented him from extending his conquests, the most strenuous efforts of the Roman power proved unable to drive his small army out of Italy, for more than fourteen years.

Every possible means was now put in practice by the Romans that could tend to strengthen their army. They supplied their new enlisted troops with arms, which had formerly been taken from different enemies, and had for some time been hung up as trophies in the publick temples and porticoes. The treasury was also recruited by the voluntary contributions of patriotick citizens, who stripped themselves of all the gold in their possession, in order to apply it to the publick use; and by these means the finances were put in good condition, and their army rendered proportionably strong.

But, notwithstanding these noble efforts, the Romans must inevitably have experienced a repetition of the same ill success, had not the deficient supplies of men and money, allowed by the Carthaginian senate to Hannibal, frustrated his aims. Feeling sensibly the want of money, he gave the Roman prisoners permission to redeem

themselves; and ten of their body were immediately dispatched to Rome for the purpose of negociating their liberty, pledging their most solemn oaths as a security for their return. At the same time they were commissioned to carry proposals for peace; but on the arrival of these unfortunate captives at Rome, the dictator sent a lictor, commanding them immediately to depart the Roman territory, as it was determined not to redeem the prisoners. On this Hannibal immediately sent the greater part of them to Carthage, and of the rest he made gladiators, compelling them to fight with each other for the savage entertainment of his troops.

Meanwhile, Cneius and Publius Scipio had carried on the war with great success in Spain against the Carthaginians; and Asdrubal, who had been ordered to proceed to the assistance of Hannibal, in his passage was defeated by them. The dictator and senate of Rome, encouraged by this agreeable news, formed the most vigorous preparations for a decisive campaign, whilst Hannibal remained in a state of inactivity at Capua. This inertion, however, appears to have arisen from the continual expectation of receiving reinforcements from Carthage; but in this hope he was disappointed; which neglect proved the ruin of the Carthaginian affairs in Italy.

The Roman forces, notwithstanding all their losses, still remained much superior to those of Hannibal; 25,000 men marching out of the city under the command of the dictator, while 15,000 were held in reserve by Marcellus. Pursuing the plan of his predecessor Fabius Maximus, the dictator came to no engagement for the

space of a year after the battle of Cannæ. Hannibal, however, made an attempt upon Nola, expecting it would be delivered up to him; but the Roman dictator entering that city, and sallying unexpectedly from three gates upon the Carthaginians, obliged them to retire in great confusion, with the loss of 5000 men. This being the first advantage gained, where Hannibal commanded in person, the Romans were not a little animated by their success; but their spirits were again dejected, by the news of the consul Posthumius Albinus being cut off with his whole army by the Boii. Still they resolved to concentrate their whole forces against their most formidable enemy, Hannibal, who nevertheless continued to reduce many cities; but the Campanians, who had espoused the Carthaginian interest, having raised an army of 14,000 men in favour of Hannibal, were defeated by the consul Sempronius, the leader and 2000 of his men falling in the battle. At this time it having been discovered, that the Carthaginian general had concluded a treaty of alliance with Philip, king of Macedon, a Roman army was transported into Greece, to prevent any annoyance from that quarter. Not long after this, Hannibal sustained a terrible defeat in a pitched battle with Marcellus, who having armed his men with long pikes, pierced through the Carthaginian forces, while they were unable to make the least resistance, from the inferior length of their javelins. They were therefore obliged to fly, and being closely pursued by Marcellus, before they could take refuge in their camp, 5000 men were killed, and 600 taken prisoners. This calamity was considerably augmented by the desertion of 1200 of

the best horse, who had participated in all the glory and fatigue which attended the passage over the Alps. Depressed by these reverses of fortune, Hannibal retired into Apulia, from Campania, where he had sojourned so long.

The Roman forces were now daily increasing their strength, while those of the Carthaginians were as rapidly declining. Fabius Maximus immediately advanced into Campania, whither Hannibal returned in the hopes of saving Capua. In the mean time he ordered Hanno, at the head of 17,000 foot and 1700 horse, to seize Beneventum; but he was repulsed with immense loss, only 2000 men surviving this fatal encounter; while Hannibal advanced to Nola, where he was again defeated by Marcellus. After this, he began to lose ground with as much rapidity as he had formerly gained it: Casilinum, Accua in Apulia, Arpi, and Aternum, were retaken by the Romans. But the inhabitants of Tarentum voluntarily delivering their city to Hannibal, he was so intent upon reducing the garrison, which still maintained the citadel of that place, that he was deaf to the entreaties of the citizens of Capua, who were threatened with a siege by the Roman army. Hanno in the mean time was again utterly vanquished by Fulvius, being forced to fly with a small body of horse into Brutium. The consuls then advanced with the intention of laying a formal siege to Capua; but while on their march, Sempronius Gracchus, a man of great bravery and skill, was assassinated by a Lucanian; and in the death of this general the republick sustained an almost irreparable loss. Capua, however, was now assailed on all sides;

and the besieged a second time supplicated Hannibal, who at length came to their assistance. He contrived to make known the period of his intended attack on the Romans, to the besieged; desiring them to second his endeavours by making a vigorous sally at the same time. The Roman generals, on the first news of the enemy's approach, divided their troops: Appius with one portion making head against the garrison, while Fulvius defended the entrenchments. The garrison was with little difficulty repulsed, and had not Appius been wounded, as he was entering the gate, he would have pursued them even into their city; but Fulvius found it no such easy task to withstand Hannibal, whose troops evinced incredible ardour and intrepidity. A body of Spaniards and Numidians passed the ditch and in spite of all opposition, climbing the ramparts, penetrated into the heart of the Roman camp; but not being properly seconded by their colleague, the life of every individual was sacrificed on the spot. The Carthaginian general, dismayed at these misfortunes, immediately sounded a retreat. Still, however, hoping to effect the relief of Capua, he marched towards Rome, where he supposed his approach would strike such terror into the minds of the inhabitants, as might cause the recal of the army from Capua to their assistance. Having previously acquainted the Capuans with his design, they were by no means disheartened at his departure: but this manœuvre was not attended with all the wished-for success; for Fabius having penetrated into his intentions, it was judged sufficient to recal Fulvius with no more than 15,000 men, to the assistance of Rome. On his

arrival, Hannibal was obliged to retire; and returning with all expedition to Capua, he surprised Appius, driving him out of his camp with the loss of a great number of men; when he entrenched himself on some eminences, till he could be joined by his colleague Fulvius. Considering his inability to combat with the whole Roman army, Hannibal now relinquished all thoughts of relieving Capua, which of course was soon surrendered to its ancient masters.

A short time prior to the submission of Capua, Hannibal fell in with a Roman army commanded by a man of the name of M. Centenius Penula, who had frequently signalised himself as a centurion. This rash man, on being introduced to the senate, had the presumption to insinuate, that if they would intrust him with the command only of 5000 men, he would soon give a good account of Hannibal. His army was, however, augmented to the number of 16,000; with which having attacked the Carthaginians, after a battle of two hours, he fell, surrounded by all his soldiers, except about 1000, who alone survived.

Not long after this, Hannibal having found means to draw the prætor Cneius Fulvius into an ambuscade, put to the sword near his whole army, consisting of 18,000 men. Meantime Marcellus made great progress in Samnium, gaining possession of three cities, in two of which finding 3000 Carthaginians, he put them all to death, and at the same time carried off immense quantities of corn. This, however, by no means compensated for the defeat which Hannibal gave the proconsul Fulvius Centumalus, whom he surprised and cut off, together with 13,000 of his men.

Thus alternately victorious and vanquished, numbers of the human race were destroyed, without any decisive effects.

Soon after this defeat, Marcellus marched with his army to oppose Hannibal, and various losses are said to have been sustained on each side in their repeated encounters; but at length the subtle Carthaginian decoyed into an ambuscade, and cut off the great Marcellus; in consequence of which the Romans were obliged to raise the siege of Locri, with the loss of all their military engines. This happened in the eleventh year of the war.

Hitherto the Carthaginians, though no longer the favourites of fortune, had still been able in a great measure to maintain their ground; but the misfortune which befel Asdrubal, as he was conducting some auxiliary troops from Spain to his brother Hannibal, proved the death-warrant of the Carthaginian affairs. After meeting with many favourable circumstances, which conduced to facilitate his progress, he arrived at Placentia sooner than the Romans, or even Hannibal himself, could expect. Had he continued to use the same expedition with which he began his march, nothing could have averted the fatal blow impending over Rome, from the united forces of Hannibal and his brother. But, on the contrary, indolently indulging his repose before Placentia, he gave an opportunity to the Romans of mustering all their troops to oppose him. Being now obliged to raise the siege, he directed his course towards Umbria; and immediately dispatched a letter to acquaint Hannibal of his intended motions; but the messenger being intercepted, and the consuls in consequence having

united their armies, attacked the Carthaginians with inconceivable vehemence, who being infinitely inferior to their opponents, both in point of numbers and resolution, the issue of this conflict was a total defeat, Asdrubal himself falling among the numerous slain. About the same time, Hannibal, after having sustained repeated repulses, retired to Canutium; but on the melancholy intelligence of his brother's death, in sorrow and despair he withdrew to the extremity of Brutium, where he remained a considerable space of time in a state of inaction. Yet such terror existed in the minds of the Romans at the recollection of what this hero had achieved, that although all about him was going to wreck, and the Carthaginian affairs appeared to be bordering on the brink of destruction, they did not venture to provoke an attack.

The republick of Carthage now devoted their whole attention to the preservation of their possessions in Spain, while the more important situation of affairs in Italy were treated with absolute neglect. All their anxiety, however, about the security of their dominions in Spain, was to very little purpose; as they found a courageous and successful enemy in Scipio, afterwards surnamed Africanus, who reduced the cities of New Carthage and Gades, besides gaining many other considerable advantages.

At length the mist raised by prejudice and malevolence, which had rendered the Carthaginians so blind to their interest, began to be dissipated by dear-bought experience; but unfortunately it was now too late. Mago received orders to leave Spain, and sail to Italy with all expedition. Landing on the coast of Liguria,

with an army of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, he surprised Genoa, and at the same time seized upon the town and port of Savo. A reinforcement joined him at this place, and new levies were raised in Liguria with great speed; but the opportunity was now passed, and could not be recalled. Scipio, after having carried all before him in Spain, passed over into Africa, where no enemy appeared capable of opposing his progress. The Carthaginians with terror beholding their country on the brink of destruction, recalled their armies from Italy, for the preservation of their own capital: and Mago, who had entered into Insubria, was routed by the Roman forces; and retreating into the maritime quarters of Liguria, was met by a courier, with orders for his immediate return to Carthage. On the same order being communicated to Hannibal, he exhibited the most acute sensations of indignation and concern, groaning and gnashing his teeth, and being scarcely able to refrain from shedding tears. "Never did a man under sentence of banishment," says Livy, "show so much reluctance to relinquish his native country, as Hannibal felt on leaving that of the enemy."

On Hannibal's landing in Africa, he strained every nerve to animate the courage and increase the strength of the Carthaginian army; after which encamping at Zama, a town about five days' march from Carthage, he sent out spies to observe the situation of the Romans. These men were taken prisoners and carried before Scipio; but so far from inflicting any punishment upon them, according to the rules of war, he ordered them to be conducted about the camp, to the end that they might take an exact

survey; and afterwards dismissed them. Hannibal, admiring the magnanimity of his rival, earnestly solicited an interview with him. The two generals, therefore, escorted by equal detachments of horse, met at Madagara, where, by the assistance of interpreters, they held a conference. Hannibal, flattering Scipio in refined and artful language, expatiated upon all those topicks which he conceived most capable of influencing that general to grant his nation a peace, on moderate and equitable terms; affirming, that the Carthaginians would willingly confine their possessions to Africa, while the Romans were at liberty to extend their conquests to the most remote nations. Scipio replied, that the Romans were not instigated to engage in the former or present war with Carthage by ambition, or any sinister considerations, but by the strict regard they paid to justice, and the security of their allies. He also observed, that, previously to his arrival in Africa, he had received more submissive proposals, the Carthaginians having offered to pay a tribute of 5000 talents of silver to the Romans, to restore their prisoners without ransom, and to surrender all their own galleys. At the same time Scipio urged, that, instead of expecting more advantageous terms, they should be grateful that they were not even more rigorous; but if Hannibal would comply with the proposed conditions, a peace should instantly ensue; if not, the dispute must be left to the decision of the sword.

This conference, held between two of the greatest commanders the world ever produced, ended without success; both returning to their respective camps, where they inflamed their troops

by the assurance that not only the fate of Rome and Carthage, but that of the universe collectively, was to be decided the succeeding day, by the exertions of their arms. During the engagement, which accordingly took place, Scipio is said to have passed a very high encomium on the excellent military genius of his opponent, openly avowing, that the conduct of the Carthaginian hero was superior to his own. But the precarious state of Carthage admitting of no delay, and being obliged to hazard a battle with a considerably inferior number of cavalry to that of the enemy, Hannibal was utterly defeated, and his camp taken, he himself seeking refuge at Thon, and afterwards removing to Adrumentum: from thence he was recalled to Carthage; where he prevailed upon his countrymen to conclude a peace with Scipio, on the severe terms prescribed by the victor.

Thus was the second Punick war terminated; on conditions to the last degree humiliating to the Carthaginians. They were obliged to surrender all the Roman deserters, fugitive slaves, and prisoners of war, as well as all the Italians whom Hannibal had constrained to follow him. At the same time they stipulated to surrender all their ships of war, except ten triremes, and all their tame elephants, being likewise restricted from training any more of those animals for military service. They were likewise to undertake no war without the consent of the Romans, and engaged to advance, at equal payments, in fifty years, 10,000 Euboick talents. They further agreed to enter into an alliance with Masinissa, restoring all they had usurped from him or his ancestors; and to assist the Romans, either by sea or land,

in case of emergency. These galling terms roused the indignation of the populace to such a degree, that they threatened to plunder and burn the houses of the nobility; but Hannibal, assembling a body of 6000 foot and 500 horse at Marthama, quelled the insurgents, and by his influence completed the treaty, in ratifying which was sealed the inevitable ruin of Carthage.

This fatal peace had scarcely been concluded, when Masinissa seized on part of the Carthaginian dominions in Africa, under pretence that it formerly belonged to his ancestors. The Carthaginians, through the potent but prejudiced interference of the Romans, found themselves under the necessity of ceding those countries to that ambitious prince, and of entering into an alliance with one who had thus unjustly despoiled them of their territories.

After the conclusion of the peace, Hannibal still maintained his reputation among his countrymen. He was intrusted with the command of an army, against some neighbouring nations; but his enjoyment of this post giving offence to the Romans, he was exalted to the civil dignity of prætor in Carthage. In this office he continued for some time, making useful regulations in the affairs of the state; but his conduct even in this capacity exciting the jealousy of his inveterate enemies, he was forced to fly to Antiochus, king of Syria. After his flight the Romans still watched the Carthaginians with a suspicious eye; though in order to prevent any thing of this kind, his countrymen had dispatched two ships to pursue him, had confiscated his effects, razed his house, and by a publick decree declared him an exile. Ever seeking some new asylum,

the tranquillity of which was as often disturbed by his jealous persecutors, Hannibal was incessantly in fear lest he should be unable to elude their pursuit. Under this apprehension he, by means of poison, put an end to his existence, which had been marked with achievements sufficiently glorious to adorn the annals of ages. His abilities were truly extraordinary; intrepid in danger, prolifick in expedients, and above the weakness of despair; amidst the most complicated difficulties, he often defeated the most subtle schemes of his adversaries, and rose superior to calamities which would have borne down a common man. The Romans entertained the most inveterate hatred against this formidable competitor, which in fact redounds to his praise more than any eulogium. By the death of Hannibal his country sustained an irreparable loss, and her glory sunk to rise no more.

Soon after Hannibal's retreat and exile, disagreements arising between the Carthaginians and Masinissa, the latter, notwithstanding the manifest iniquity of his proceeding, was supported by the Romans, whom he cajoled by affirming, that the Carthaginians had received ambassadors from Perseus, king of Macedon, with whom they were about to enter into an alliance. Not long after this, Masinissa made incursions into the province of Tysca, where he possessed himself of many towns and castles. In order to check his further outrages, the Carthaginians applied with great importunity to the Romans for redress, being restrained by an article in the last treaty from repelling force by force without their consent. The ambassadors prostrating themselves on the ground, implored the Roman senate to

determine the extent of their dominions, that they might know in future what they had to depend on; or if their state had by any means given offence, they begged that they would punish them themselves, rather than leave them exposed to the insults and depredations of so merciless a tyrant. But, even with all this solicitation and humility, they could not obtain their request, the matter being left undecided; and Masinissa was permitted to continue his rapines with impunity. Yet whatever enmity the Romans might bear their natural foe, they affected to show some regard to the principles of justice and honour. They therefore dispatched Cato, a man remarkable for the enormities he committed under the specious pretence of publick spirit, to accommodate the differences between Masinissa and the Carthaginians; but the latter, aware of the fatal consequences which would ensue, should they acquiesce in such a mediation, appealed to the treaty concluded by Scipio, as the only rule by which their conduct, and that of the aggressor, should be scrutinised. This reasonable request, from an unfortunate people, so incensed the haughty disposition of Cato, that from this time he was determined upon the destruction of their state.

The Carthaginians, sensible that the Romans were their implacable enemies, and reflecting on the nefarious treatment they had experienced from them as arbitrators in this business, in order to prevent a rupture, by a decree of the senate, impeached Asdrubal, general of the army, and Carthalo, commander of the auxiliary forces, as guilty of high-treason, in having promoted the war against the king of Numidia. A deputa-

tion at the same time was sent to Rome, to discover the opinions entertained of their late conduct, and to learn what satisfaction the Romans demanded. These messengers meeting with a cold reception, others were dispatched, who returned with no more favourable success. This coldness threw the unhappy citizens into the deepest despair, from a just apprehension that speedy destruction awaited them. Nor were their fears groundless, as the Roman senate, jealous and uneasy lest the Carthaginian republick should resume some share of its formed vigour, had now determined on its final subversion. The city of Utica, remarkable for its magnitude and riches, as well as for its capacious port, having through fear submitted to the Romans, they did not for a moment hesitate to declare hostilities against Carthage, being now possessed of so important a fortress for the attack of the capital. The consuls, M. Manlius Nepos, and L. Marcius Censorinus, with an immense armament, were dispatched against the defenceless Carthaginians, having previously received secret injunctions from the senate not to suspend offensive operations till the complete destruction of that state, which they pretended was essentially necessary to their own security. Pursuant to their previous arrangements, the troops were landed at Lilybæum in Sicily, from whence, after making necessary preparations, it was proposed that they should be transported to Utica.

In the mean time, the Carthaginians were not a little agitated by the last intelligence brought by their ambassadors: still, however, they were ignorant of the calamitous destiny that awaited them. They therefore B. C. 147.

sent fresh ambassadors to Rome, invested with unlimited powers to act as they thought proper for the good of the republick, and even to submit themselves without reserve to the disposal of the Romans. This embassy appeared in some measure to soften the obduracy of the Romans, who promised not only the enjoyment of their liberty and laws, but likewise of whatever in their estimation was held most dear and valuable. The rapture of the Carthaginian populace was immoderate, on the report of this favourable turn in the negociation; but their spirits soon suffered an adequate depression, on being informed by the senate, that the Romans listened to their overtures only on condition that three hundred of the young noblemen of Carthage should be dispatched to Lilybæum, within the space of thirty days, to hear the final resolution of the consuls. This uncertainty impressed the inhabitants of Carthage with the deepest melancholy. The hostages, however, were delivered; but the decision of their fate was deferred till the consuls should arrive at Utica, where they were assured that the further orders of the Romans should be made known.

No sooner, therefore, did the ministers receive intelligence of the Roman fleet appearing off Utica, than they hastened to learn the impending destiny of their city. The consuls, however, gradually disclosed the commands of their republick, fearing lest the Carthaginians, irritated by the rigour of the demands, should refuse to comply with them. In conformity to this policy, they first required a sufficient quantity of corn for the subsistence of their troops. Next they insisted on the surrender of all the triremes

in their possession; and finally they desired that all their arms and military engines should immediately be deposited in the Roman camp.

Care being taken that a considerable interval of time should elapse between each of these inordinate requests, the Carthaginians found themselves ensnared into assent, feeling their inability to resist any one of these separate demands, though the last was submitted to, with the utmost reluctance and concern. Thus deprived of all powers of resistance, the unfortunate Carthaginians were next enjoined to abandon their city; at the same time receiving permission to erect another, at the distance of eighty stadia from the sea, which was to be unprotected by walls or fortifications. This inexorable decree was received with every symptom of desperation; and the whole city became a continued scene of horror, madness, and confusion. The citizens cursed their ancestors for not gloriously dying in the defence of their country, rather than acquiescing in dishonourable conditions which had brought destruction on their posterity. At length, after the commotion had somewhat subsided, the senate proposed to their wretched countrymen, that they should attempt to resist this last degradation; and make every exertion that could be practised in their defenceless state for sustaining a siege. Accordingly they closed the gates of their city; collecting on the ramparts great heaps of stones, to supply the defect of arms, in case of a surprise; and liberating all the malefactors confined in prison, and giving the slaves their liberty, they incorporated them in the militia. Asdrubal, who had been sentenced to die, in order to deprecate the vengeance of the

Romans, was now entreated to employ an army of 20,000 men, which he had raised against his country, in its defence. Another Asdrubal was appointed to command in Carthage; and all united in the resolution to preserve their city, or perish in its ruins. But though animated with the most ardent zeal for the defence of their capital, they still felt sensibly the want of arms. To obviate this, by order of the senate, the temples, porticoes, and all other publick buildings, were converted into manufactories, in which men and women were incessantly occupied in supplying this indispensable defect. By these means, 144 bucklers, 300 swords, 1000 darts, and 500 lances and javelins, were daily furnished to the soldiery. Wanting the usual materials for making the balistæ, and catapultæ, they used silver and gold, melting the statues, vases, and even the private property of families; none on this occasion sparing fatigue or expense in such an important cause. And as there were no supplies of hemp and flax to make ropes for working the machines, the women, even those of the first rank, cut off their hair, and dedicated it to the service of their country. Asdrubal, forgetting his private wrongs in those of the publick, came to the assistance of his native city; and having taken his post without the walls, employed his troops in collecting provisions, which were conveyed to the Carthaginians in great abundance.

The consuls, in the mean time, supposing the inhabitants of Carthage to be labouring under famine, which must eventually oblige them to submit, deferred drawing near to the city, being hourly in expectation of receiving their conces-

bions; but at length discovering the real state of affairs, they advanced to the place, which they immediately invested. Still, however, firmly persuaded that the Carthaginians were unarmed, they flattered themselves they should carry the city with great facility; and under this idea they approached the walls with their scaling ladders; but how great was their surprise, on discovering multitudes of men on the ramparts, glittering in the armour they had recently made! So powerful was the effect of this unexpected discovery on the minds of the legionaries, that they drew back, and would have retreated, had not the consuls led them on to the attack. The Romans, however, in spite of all their exertions, were obliged to relinquish the enterprise, abandoning all thoughts of reducing Carthage by assault; and Asdrubal, having collected from all places subject to Carthage, a prodigious body of troops, encamped at a short distance from the Romans, and soon reduced them to considerable difficulties, in obtaining supplies of provisions.

In the mean time Marcius, one of the Roman consuls, being posted near some stagnant waters, the noxious vapours, combined with the excessive heat of the season, caused an alarming sickness among his troops; to alleviate the virulence of which, he ordered the fleet to draw near to the shore, in order to transport his troops to a more salubrious situation. But Asdrubal, apprised of this intention, filled all the old barks in the harbour with combustible materials; and taking advantage of the wind, let them drive upon the enemy's ships, by which means the greatest part of them were consumed. After this disaster, Marcius was called home to preside at

the elections; and the Carthaginians, encouraged by the absence of one of their principal opponents, made an attempt in the night to surprise the other consul's camp: but, meeting with unexpected opposition, they were obliged to return to the city in disorder.

Asdrubal having posted himself under the walls of Nepheris, a city at twenty-four miles distance from Carthage, which standing on a high mountain, appeared inaccessible on all sides, made frequent incursions into the neighbouring country, harassing the Roman army by every stratagem he could devise. The consul, therefore, immediately hastened to Nepheris, determined to dislodge his adversary from so advantageous a position; but Asdrubal attacked them with such impetuosity, that the Roman general, convinced of his imminent danger, sounded a retreat. On this Asdrubal rushed down the hill, and pursuing the Romans, cut a great number of them in pieces: but Scipio Æmilianus preserved the Romans from total destruction by his unparalleled bravery; for at the head of three hundred horse he sustained the attack of all the forces commanded by Asdrubal, covering the legions while they passed a river in their retreat before the enemy; and having effected this, he and his companions threw themselves into the stream, and followed their leader. When they had crossed the river, however, it was perceived that four manipuli were wanting; which was no sooner discovered, than Æmilianus, taking with him a chosen body of horse, hastened back to their rescue. Attacking the Carthaginian forces with a courage and intrepidity alone possessed by a man re-

solved to die or conquer, in spite of all opposition he opened a passage for his countrymen. On his return again to the army, who had given him up for lost, he was carried to his quarters in a kind of triumph; and the manipuli, whom he had rescued from such imminent danger, presented him with a crown of *gramen*.

In the succeeding year the conduct of the war in Africa fell by lot to the consul L. Calphurnius Piso, who employed Æmilianus in several enterprises of importance, in which he was attended with singular good fortune. After taking several castles, he procured a private interview with Thameas, general under Asdrubal of the Carthaginian cavalry, and prevailed on him to join the Romans with 2200 horse. Under the consul Calphurnius Piso himself, however, the Roman army made a very slow progress. Having made an ineffectual attempt on Clupea, he proceeded to vent his fury on Neapolis, a city which professed a strict neutrality, even holding a safeguard for the Romans; but notwithstanding this, the inhabitants were pillaged of all their effects. From thence the consul proceeded to lay siege to Hippagreta, which employed the Roman forces the whole summer; and on the approach of winter he retired to Utica, without performing an action of decisive importanee during the whole campaign.

Next season, Scipio Æmilianus passed over into Africa, in quality of consul; and finding 3500 Romans in imminent danger in Megalia, one of the suburbs of Carthage, which they had occupied, without furnishing themselves with provisions, and were now closely blockaded by the Carthaginian troops, he flew to the relief of

his countrymen; and having driven the Carthaginians within their walls, he brought off the detachment in safety to Utica.

Concentrating his forces, he now directed all his energies to the reduction of the capital. To this end, he first carried Megalia by assault, the Carthaginian garrison retiring to the citadel of Byrsa. Asdrubal, who had commanded the field forces, and was now chosen governor of Carthage, was so enraged at the loss of Megalia, that he inhumanly ordered all the Roman prisoners to be brought upon the ramparts, and thrown headlong from thence, in sight of the hostile army; after having, with an excess of cruelty, caused the hands and feet of the unhappy victims to be cut off, and their eyes and tongues to be rooted out. Such was the barbarity of his disposition, that the agonies occasioned by the torture inflicted on these men, is said to have given him evident pleasure. In the mean time, Æmilianus was assiduously employed in contriving means to reduce Carthage, and at length he so far effected his design as totally to preclude the possibility of supplies from being conveyed to it. The besieged, however, prompted by increasing want, with almost incredible industry and perseverance, dug a new bason, and cut a communication between it and the sea; by these means obviating the distresses which must necessarily have ensued from a vast mole raised by the Romans, so as to render their port wholly inaccessible to ships, and consequently entirely useless. With equal diligence and expedition, the besieged now fitted out a fleet of fifty triremes, and conducting them through this canal, suddenly launched them on the sea, to the no

small astonishment of the Romans. An engagement ensued, which lasted the whole day, with little advantage on either side. The succeeding day, Æmilianus endeavoured to gain possession of a terrace, which covered the city on the side next the sea; and on this occasion the besieged signalised themselves in an astonishing manner. Great numbers sallied out, naked and unarmed, in the dead of the night, holding unlighted torches in their hands till they approached within reach, when they lighted their torches, and threw them against the Roman engines. The sudden appearance of naked men, resembling so many monsters rising from the bosom of the waves, struck such terror into the Romans who guarded the engines, that they retreated in the utmost confusion. The consul, however, who commanded in person, endeavoured by every possible means to inspire his men with resolution; but the Carthaginians perceiving the general consternation that prevailed, fell upon the Romans with irresistible fury, and having put them to flight, entirely consumed the machines. Notwithstanding this disaster, Æmilianus, after a few days, renewing the attack, carried the terrace by assault; and stationing 4000 men there, took every precaution to fortify it against the sallies of the enemy. Having obtained this advantageous post, he for a time suspended all further exertions; but circumstances did not permit him to remain long inactive. The Carthaginians receiving regular supplies of provisions from Nepheris, where a very numerous army under the command of Diogenes was encamped, Æmilianus made an attack on that place, and at length succeeded in

his endeavours: by which he cut off the chief source from which Carthage received her supplies. Numbers fell in the conflict; and after a siege of twenty-two days, Nepheris opened its gates to the victorious Romans. Asdrubal, disheartened by the defeat of this army, and deeply affected by the accumulated distresses of his countrymen, now offered to submit to any conditions that the Romans would name, consistent with the preservation of the city: but even this was absolutely refused; and the approach of winter in a great measure suspended the operations of the enemy, and delayed the fate of Carthage.

Early in the spring, however, Æmilianus renewed the siege with additional vigour. He ordered Lælius to attempt the reduction of Cotho, a small island which separated the two ports, while he himself made a feint of an attack on the citadel, in order to divert the attention of the enemy. This stratagem had the desired effect; for considering their citadel as of the highest importance, most of the Carthaginians flew to its aid, making use of their utmost exertions to repel the aggressors. Meanwhile Lælius, having with inconceivable expedition built a bridge over the channel which intersected Cotho from the isthmus, soon made himself master of the important fortress erected in this island; and no sooner did the pro-consul understand from the shouts of the victors that their attempts had been crowned with success, than he immediately abandoned the false attack; and unexpectedly assailing the adjacent gate of the city, forced his way, amidst the incessant showers of darts discharged from the ramparts on

his troops. The approach of night, however, retarding his further progress, he made a lodgement within the gate, till the return of day; when, pursuant to his design of attacking the citadel, he ordered a reinforcement of 4000 fresh troops to advance from the camp. Thus prepared, having previously devoted to the infernal deities the unfortunate Carthaginians, he advanced at the head of his troops to the market-place. Here he found that the way to the citadel lay through three steep streets, the tops of the houses on each side of which were lined with the Carthaginians, who discharged heavy volleys of stones and darts on the Romans as they approached. In order to remove this impediment, Æmilianus, at the head of a detachment, assailed the first house, and put all he met with to the sword. This example was followed by the other officers and men, who gradually advanced, as the houses on each side were cleared. The Carthaginians, however, though in this last extremity, continued to make a vigorous resistance; two bodies of men, one placed on the roofs of the houses, the other parading the streets, disputed every step with the most desperate bravery. The slaughter, indeed, was prodigious and inexpressibly shocking: the air was rent with the most lamentable shrieks, which would have melted any heart but that of a conqueror, wading through the blood of thousands to the attainment of the object of his ambition. Some were massacred by the sword, others precipitated themselves headlong from the tops of the houses, and the streets were paved with dead or mangled bodies. But the havock was still more dreadful, when Æmilianus ordered

that quarter of the city adjoining the citadel to be set on fire: multitudes who hitherto escaped the blood-thirsty swords of the enemy, now fell victims to the merciless flames, or perished amidst the ruins of their habitation. After the conflagration had raged six successive days, Æmilianus ordered the rubbish to be cleared for a considerable space, that his army might have scope for action. He then appeared with his whole forces before Byrsa, whither many of the Carthaginians had sought refuge; part of whom, prostrating themselves at the feet of the Roman general, supplicated no other favour than the preservation of their lives. This was readily granted, not only to them, but to all who had fled to Byrsa, except some Roman deserters. Asdrubal's wife earnestly entreated the permission of her husband to join the suppliants, and to carry with her to the pro-consul her two infant sons; but, dead to the poignant feelings of a parent, he silenced her request with menaces. Perceiving, however, that the Roman deserters were excluded from all chance of mercy, and had entered into a resolution to die sword in hand rather than submit to the vengeance of their countrymen, he committed his wife and children to their charge; yet, after this unnatural and ferocious conduct, with the base pusillanimity of a coward, he himself came and fell at the feet of the conqueror.

The Carthaginian garrison in the citadel no sooner perceived themselves abandoned by their leader than they threw open the gates and put the Romans in possession of Byrsa. They had now no other enemy to contend with except about nine hundred deserters, who, reduced to

despair, had sought an asylum in the temple of Æsculapius. In this situation the pro-consul attacked them, and, debarred of all hopes of escape, these unhappy wretches set fire to the temple. The flames spreading rapidly, they continued to fly from one part of the building to another, till at length they got on the roof. Here Asdrubal's wife appeared, uttering the most bitter reproaches against her husband, whom she saw standing below in company with Æmilianus, exclaiming, "Inglorious wretch! what degrading actions hast thou perpetrated to preserve an existence so dishonourable! but this instant thou shalt witness the atonement of thy guilt in the death of these two guileless infants." On this she stabbed both the children with a dagger, and precipitating them from the top of the temple, immediately leaped down after them into the flames.

Æmilianus delivered up the city to be pillaged, in the manner prescribed by the Roman military law. The soldiers were allowed to participate in all the furniture and brass money found in private houses; but the gold, silver, statues, pictures, and other valuables, were reserved for the appropriation of the quæstors. Prior to the demolition of the city, Æmilianus observed those religious ceremonies required on such occasions: he offered sacrifices to the gods, and then caused a plough to be drawn round the walls. This done, the towers, ramparts, and all other publick edifices, which had been the labour of ages to erect, were levelled with the ground; and finally, fire was set to the remains of this once majestick metropolis; and although the conflagration began in all quarters at the same time with the

utmost fury, seventeen days elapsed before the whole was reduced to ashes.

Thus fell Carthage:—the destruction of which ought rather to be attributed to the intrigues of an abandoned faction, composed of the most profligate of its citizens, than to the superior power of its rival. It dawned, arrived at maturity, and perished, within the space of about seven hundred and fifty years. In expiation for the injustice of their ancestors, the Romans, many years afterwards, attempted to erect a new city on the site of the old; it did not, however, arrive at any degree of splendour till the time of Augustus, when it was esteemed the second city in the empire. This again was laid in ashes by Maxentius, about the fifth or sixth year of the reign of Constantine: but Carthage once more held a considerable rank among the cities of Africa under Genserick, king of the Vandals; and was re-annexed to the Roman empire, by the memorable Belisarius. At length it was so completely demolished towards the close of the seventh century of the christian æra, that not a wreck remains of its ancient grandeur.

On the site of Carthage, however, there now stands a small village called Melcha, where there are three eminences, formed in all probability out of the ruins of temples, or some other publick edifices.

It is very remarkable, that the two cities of Rome and Carthage were placed in a situation not less diametrically opposite than the respective interests and views of their inhabitants. The aggrandisement of the one required the destruction of the other; and as publick spirit is scarcely compatible with the narrow

policy of commerce, where each pursues his private advantage, it was the fate of Carthage to submit.

In the Carthaginian annals, which have descended to us, we do not so frequently find those tremendous intestine seditions, which imbrued Rome in the blood of her citizens, and shook the very foundation of her republick; but it should be observed, that there existed in Carthage several powerful families, whose competition firmly secured the publick liberty, and thus prevented the conflict of demagogues. Narrowly watching and counterpoising each other's actions, no sooner did one show a disposition to assume authority, than they were strenuously opposed by their rivals; and in the occasional dissentions which arose between these potentates, the respective authorities of the suffetes, senate, centumviri, and quinqueviri, still maintained the equilibrium; or if for a period the peace of the state was disturbed, they proceeded to no perilous lengths, as is evident from the unchanged form of government. They zealously suppressed such as became dangerous from their power, sometimes banishing whole families at once; and by the aid of one faction prevented the encroachments of another. In the Carthaginian history we have seen that a general, placed at the head of an armament upon the credit of his partisans, dared not return to Carthage if his endeavours had been unsuccessful; or, if he returned, it was but to fall a victim to the opposing cabal. It does not, however, appear that these catastrophes were attended with such sanguinary commotions as in Rome.

The connexion between the Carthaginians

and Romans, appears from its earliest dawn to have been marked with direct and reciprocal distrust; and had not the Punick archives been suppressed or destroyed, it would have proved highly interesting, to trace the progress of these two republicks towards open enmity. Certain it is, that from the commencement of the Carthaginian conquests in Italy, the hatred that the Romans had for them suffered no diminution, nor allowed the interference of any milder passion; but, on the contrary, it gained new fire from time and circumstances. What a picture of folly, or rather of turpitude, does this jealousy between the two republicks present to our contemplation! That two nations should glory in the calamities inflicted on each other, and strain every nerve to lessen the sum of human happiness on both sides, that one might boast of dear-bought triumph, and the other learn in sorrow to submit, is humiliating to reason and to man. And when the most exalted nations of the existing era have lost their present rank, or perhaps may be sunk into insignificance and contempt, by natural transitions, or sad reverses of fortune,—their mutual ambition, their groundless enmities and distrusts, and the sordid objects which have influenced their conduct, may possibly be regarded in the same light, and give rise to similar reflections. It would be base, it would be impious to suppose, that man was born to tyrannise over man, or one people over another: yet this spirit of domination, to a greater or less extent, pervades every human breast as well as the publick mind. In just retribution, however, for this perversion of reason, and this violation of duty, it will generally be

found that a disposition to domineer, is not less destructive to the happiness of the aggressors than of the aggrieved. The baneful effects of strife and animosity indeed, may be too plainly perceived, even in the narrow sphere of social life; and when they extend to kingdoms and empires, their ravages must be in proportion to the magnitude of the theatres on which they reciprocally act.

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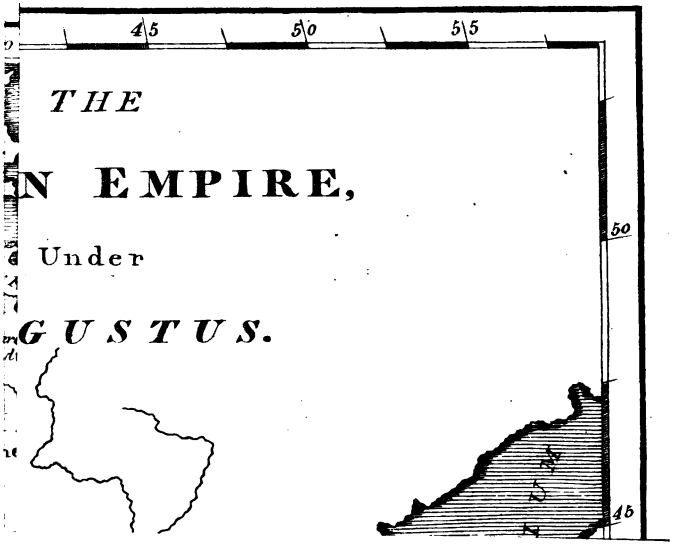

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